

Intersecting Cosmologies
Kalinga Morality, Misfortune, Ritual, and Religious Change

Rikardo Shedden
Department of Anthropology
School of Culture, History and Linguistics
College of Asia and Pacific
Australian National University
March 28th 2013

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
Australian National University

Intersecting Circles
Killing's Identity, Measure, Area, and Volume

Department of Mathematics
School of Science, Technology and Innovation
University of New South Wales
Sydney, New South Wales
Australia



Acknowledgements

My accomplishment of this thesis would not have been possible without the advice, insight, encouragement from, and critical dialogue carried out with many family and non-family colleagues at ANU and elsewhere. The primary research was undertaken while I was a Research Affiliate of the Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines-Banuew and a visiting Research Associate of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. Special thanks first and foremost to Mark Masilo who from the outset recognized the potential in my work and supported and guided me even when to my regret at ANU I am ever grateful to Alan Kinsey for his concise and erudite critiques of my work as it progressed. I am equally grateful to Philip Taylor whose extended hallway conversations with me from time to time never failed to lend new insight to old paradigms. Andrew McWilliam, Margaret Jolly, Ben Gardner, Andy Kipols and Richard Eves are among those who I am also thankful to for commenting on versions of chapters and edited papers over the years. The study co-ordinators on annual reports and other academic affairs I am grateful to for their aid. Finally I will always be appreciative of the camaraderie of colleagues and other faculty of the Cordillera Anthropology Department. My unreserved thanks go to Marlyn and Priscilla Sheldon who, likely against their better judgement, have indulged their son in his pursuit of this degree in anthropology. No words can convey the gratitude I have for Ma-Ling Blumenthal, my more than significant Other and sounding-board for my Analytical entries, helping me to grow in confidence with my writing. Of course none of this would have been possible without all my friends and teachers in Taitung who I thank collectively for their hospitality, generous patience and good humour.

This thesis is entirely my own original work based on research carried out in field sites in northern Luzon, Philippines during the academic program for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

 ... Mar 12th 2013

This thesis is written by an original work based on research carried out in the
field of mathematics during the last two years of the author's studies.
Department of Philosophy in Mathematics

Prof. Dr. J. J. ...

Acknowledgements

My accomplishment of this thesis would not have been possible without the advice, insight, encouragement from, and critical dialogue carried out with many faculty, staff and colleagues at ANU and elsewhere. The primary research was undertaken while I was a Research Affiliate of the Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines Baguio, and a visiting Research Associate of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. Special thanks first and foremost to Mark Mosko who from the outset recognized the potential in my work and supported and guided me even prior to my arrival at ANU. I am ever grateful to Alan Rumsey for his concise and erudite critiques of my work as it progressed. I am equally grateful to Philip Taylor whose extended hallway conversations with me from time to time never failed to lend new insight to old paradigms. Andrew McWilliam, Margaret Jolly, Don Gardner, Andy Kipnis and Richard Eves are among those who I am also thankful to for commenting on versions of chapters and related papers over the years. For timely reminders on annual reports and other academic affairs I am grateful to Fay, Jo and Pen. I will always be appreciative of the camaraderie of colleagues and other faculty of the Coombs Anthropology Department. My unreserved thanks go to Mervyn and Primrose Shedden who, likely against their better judgement, have indulged their son in his pursuit of this degree in anthropology. No words can convey the gratitude I have for Mei-Ling Ellerman, my more than significant Other and sounding-board for my analytical antics, helping me to grow in confidence with my writing. Of course none of this would have been possible without all my friends and teachers in Tarlao who I thank wholeheartedly for their hospitality, guidance, patience and good humour.

My acknowledgment of this book would not be complete without mentioning the encouragement, support, and advice of my family and friends. I am particularly indebted to my mother, who has been a constant source of inspiration and support throughout my life. I also want to thank my father, who has been a great source of wisdom and guidance. My friends, especially those who have been with me through the toughest times, have also been a great source of support and encouragement. I am also grateful to my teachers, who have helped me to grow and learn. Finally, I want to thank the publisher, who has made it possible for me to share my story with the world. I am truly grateful to all of you for your support and encouragement. I hope this book will be a source of inspiration and guidance for many people. I am truly grateful to all of you for your support and encouragement. I hope this book will be a source of inspiration and guidance for many people.

Thesis abstract

This thesis examines a rural Kalinga, northern Luzon, people's contemporary religious assertions and practices. In particular it explores the cosmological principles that shape much of Kalinga quotidian domestic activity. Kalinga society is configured relative to an ethicized cosmology in which persistent sickness and serious injury are commonly taken as retribution from a transcendent Other (either indigenous spirits or God) for an individual's moral transgressions. The understanding that im/morality is linked to misfortune is so tightly woven into the fabric of social life that people define this axiom as a 'commandment', linking it to biblical scripture, as well as to their own identity as Christians (Catholics and Anglicans). The plurality of religious activity at the village level encompasses trans-local Christianity, a vernacularization of Christianity in the form of an indigenous Sunday mass, and manifold local traditions including domestic animal sacrifice as reparation for moral trespass, and the expiation and propitiation of malevolent spirits.

The analysis focuses on the social, moral and cosmological incongruities, tensions and gaps that can arise when people construe particular events and circumstances in their lives according to distinct and sometimes contradictory elements of an otherwise encompassing religious framework – itself informed by both long-established Kalinga as well as more recently introduced (1930s) Christian cosmology and doctrine. I ask how these historically, doctrinally and cosmologically distinct liturgical orders, Kalinga and Christian, cohere to the extent that locals participate in them more or less equally. Pursuing this question I draw on Rappaport's (1999) model of contingent sanctification, and of the interrelatedness among assertions concerning an apical divinity, cosmological axioms, and the ritual activity that affirms all of these. I build on Rappaport's work by bringing this model to bear on not just a single-religious context but the multi-religious environment of highland Kalinga.

In doing so I argue that such distinct and co-occurring religious traditions are locally made to cohere, not by people's claims that the same God is their ultimate referent, but by being mutually framed by the Kalinga axiom that links morality to misfortune to other-worldly retribution. I further argue that the advantage of an approach which focuses on such axiomatic principles, separate from an analysis of ritual enactments and the apical divinities these affirm, is that it allows for a more in-depth account of the articulation between disparate forms of religious activity, local and trans-local.

This thesis examines a broad historical and cultural context of the religious and political movements in the United States. It explores the role of religion in the development of the American nation, from the early colonial period to the present. The thesis argues that religion has played a central role in the formation of the American identity, and that this role has been both positive and negative. The thesis also examines the impact of religious movements on the development of the American political system, and the role of religion in the struggle for civil rights. The thesis concludes that religion remains a powerful force in American society, and that it will continue to play a significant role in the future of the United States.

The subject of religion in the United States is a complex and multifaceted one. It is a subject that has been the focus of much scholarly attention, and it is one that continues to be relevant in the present day. This thesis seeks to explore the role of religion in the development of the American nation, from the early colonial period to the present. It examines the impact of religious movements on the development of the American political system, and the role of religion in the struggle for civil rights. The thesis also examines the impact of religion on the development of the American identity, and the role of religion in the formation of the American nation. The thesis argues that religion has played a central role in the formation of the American identity, and that this role has been both positive and negative. The thesis also examines the impact of religious movements on the development of the American political system, and the role of religion in the struggle for civil rights. The thesis concludes that religion remains a powerful force in American society, and that it will continue to play a significant role in the future of the United States.

In doing so, I argue that religion has played a central role in the formation of the American identity, and that this role has been both positive and negative. I also argue that religion has played a central role in the development of the American political system, and that this role has been both positive and negative. I conclude that religion remains a powerful force in American society, and that it will continue to play a significant role in the future of the United States.

Contents

Acknowledgements ~ page 5

Thesis abstract ~ page 7

Fieldsite maps ~ page 11

Chapter I Competing moralities, spirit-world attributed misfortune, and reparatory ritual ~ page 13

Chapter II *Pariyao*, Christianity, and complementing and competing moralities
~ page 46

Chapter III Expiation, propitiation, and meta-performativity: Kalinga reparatory ritual as a response to spirit-world retribution ~ page 82

Chapter IV Agnes's mass: Vernacularized Christianity and Christianized curative ritual as an emergent Kalinga tradition ~ page 109

Chapter V Funerals, blankets and the distinction between Kalinga and Christian notions of the afterlife ~ page 145

Chapter VI *Ngelin* avoidance practices, analogous transfer, and Kalinga cosmology
~ page 175

Chapter VII Religious synthesis as change and continuity ~ page 197

Fieldsite photographs ~ page 208

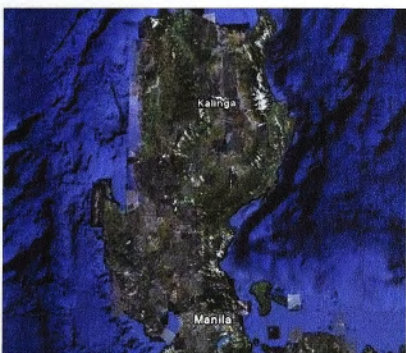
References cited ~ page 222

Contents	
Acknowledgements - page 2	
Abbreviations - page 3	
References - page 4	
Chapter I: Language, thought, and the world - page 5	
Chapter II: Language, thought, and the world - page 6	
Chapter III: Language, thought, and the world - page 7	
Chapter IV: Language, thought, and the world - page 8	
Chapter V: Language, thought, and the world - page 9	
Chapter VI: Language, thought, and the world - page 10	
Chapter VII: Language, thought, and the world - page 11	
Appendix - page 12	
Index - page 13	

Fieldsite maps



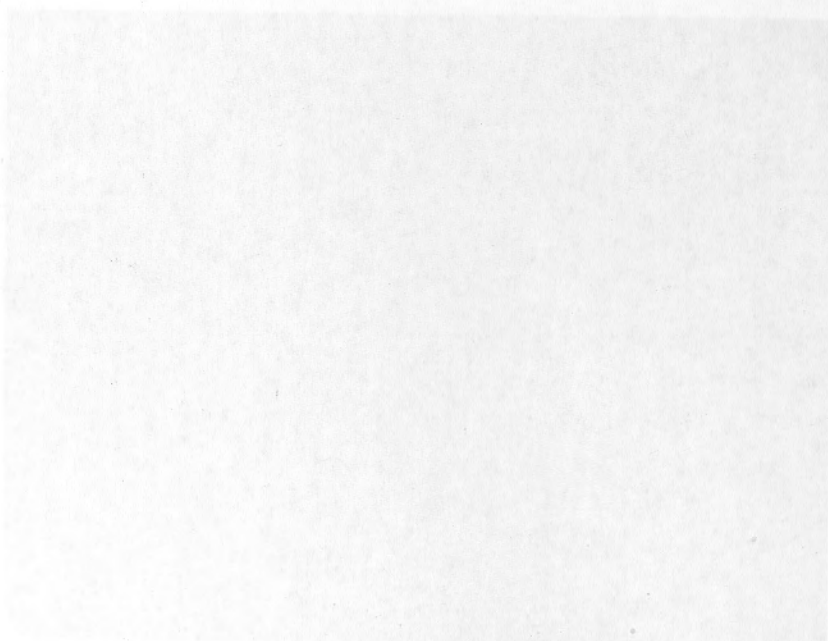
1. The Philippine Islands



2. Northern Luzon



3. Tarlao, Kalinga Province



Chapter I

Competing moralities, spirit-world attributed misfortune, and reparatory ritual



Tarlao Kalinga, northern Luzon, Philippines

1.1 Conceptual frameworks, axiomatic principles, and co-occurring religious traditions

On Sunday mornings in the highland Christian village of Tarlao, northern Luzon, Philippines, an elderly Kalinga woman whom I call Agnes leads a vernacularized Christian gathering during which she is possessed of what locals take to be the Holy Spirit sent by God. In her transformed state she is able to communicate with local spirits and receive messages from God. She is renowned for curing the sorts of persistent sickness or pain attributed to the workings of a non-corporeal or transcendent Other, either spirits or deity, and which is taken as retribution for an afflicted individual's moral transgressions. Such transgressions are for the most part understood as moral failings according to traditional Kalinga assertions, supported as they are by local mythology as well as trans-local Christian (Catholic and Anglican) notions of sin. A salient disparity between indigenous and Christian moral systems concerns retaliation for attacks on village residents during instances of inter-village conflict. Admonished by Christian clergy, catechists and many local congregants, such retaliation – which in recent history has included the taking of enemy heads – has

traditionally been understood as obligatory and rightful, and has included the inking into participants' skin of tattoos as permanent reminders of their locally deemed heroic actions. The irreconcilable aspects of otherwise concordant moral frameworks have left some 'tribal war' protagonists conflicted and excluded from Christian liturgy and God's favour.

This brief sketch of the indigenous mass led by a village spirit-medium/healer, and the seemingly indissoluble moral dilemma facing individuals whose participation in inter-village conflict is deemed laudable on the one hand and sinful on the other, is intended to give an indication of the ethnographic context from which key analytical discussions are drawn. That context or setting (of which more is said in sect 9 below) is the Cordilleran southern Kalinga upland village of Tarlao, a primarily wet-rice cultivating rural community of around 150 households, which has political representation at the municipal level, and a highly structured network of peace-pacts with surrounding villages. It is a community with economies in carpentry, blacksmithing and basket weaving, where residents for the most part are keen to embrace urban low-land modern sensibilities, and where families place high value on the education of their children. Men and women tend to follow traditionally defined gender roles, and people in general continue to have important ties to their cultural heritage. While locals have strong assertions concerning their relationships with a local spirit-world, virtually all have been Christian now for some three or four generations.

A primary focus of the thesis is the social, moral and cosmological incongruities, tensions and gaps that can arise when people construe particular events and circumstances in their lives according to distinct and sometimes contradictory elements of a more or less encompassing conceptual framework, itself informed by long-established Kalinga as well as more recently introduced (dating only as far back as 1938) Christian cosmology and doctrine. More specifically such elements include the fundamental Kalinga principles or axioms from which much of social, moral and religious life is derived, or conversely, that such aspects of life affirm. An exemplar is the axiom from which is derived the notion that an individual's misconduct aimed at others or their belongings will not go unseen or unpunished by a transcendent Other. This cosmological principle is elemental to Kalinga social and religious life, and locals also take it to be inherent to Christian doctrine insofar as God is understood to judge and punish people's sinful conduct. In other words, the notion that wrongdoing will bring about retribution from a non-manifest Other can be taken as doctrinally common to traditional Kalinga and nationally orchestrated, or trans-local, Christian religious orders.

While there is concordance in the understanding that moral transgression will bring about other-worldly retribution, at another level this general principle also accommodates

difference, namely in the manifestation of such retribution, and in particular in local assertions concerning the nature of the afterlife and the fate of the soul. In Christian teachings an aggregate of moral conduct or the accumulation of sin destines a person's soul to a state of bliss or eternal damnation respectively. Here the wrongdoing/retribution principle resolves into a Christian 'economy of salvation' (Cannell, 2006), whereas there are no equivalent moral implications for one's spirit in a traditional Kalinga cosmology. According to the latter, human spirits upon separation from the body at death eventually recede to an indeterminate 'elsewhere', a non-descript destination which is wholly unconnected with a system of rewards and punishments. Retribution for moral failing, taken through a typical Kalinga conceptualization, is manifested as 'spiritually complicated' sickness and other forms of misfortune relevant to people's ordinary lives in the here and now, not the afterlife to come. Consistent with this, an important reason which locals give for being baptized and attending trans-local Christian Sunday service is the protection from sickness and ill-fortune that is taken to come about through partaking in the Eucharist, understood by many locals as a form of medicine. This Christian sacrament is also a commonly conceived complement to the traditional treatment of sickness.

The arguments I present in the thesis are predicated on an understanding that people ordinarily engage in a multiplicity of distinct religious traditions, elements of which variously intersect, conflate with, overlap and contradict one another. One means of differentiating trans-local Christian and traditional Kalinga religious assertions and practices is historically, with the former extending back to the arrival of Spanish missionaries (Scott, 1974, 1975), and beyond, arguably paralleling the rise of Western civilization (MacCulloch, 2009). The latter can be differentiated historically in the way that it is remembered by the oldest still-living Kalinga cohort and encapsulated in a body of oral knowledge that draws on the invaluable life experiences of older generations that recede back to a time beyond memory. These religious traditions can be distinguished materially, spatially and temporally in the manner in which their liturgical orders and ritual cycles are undertaken. Importantly, their differences can be constituted cosmologically in terms of, for example, the existence and power of non-manifest beings and their relationship to the social world of ordinary Kalinga. Equally important are doctrinal differences, primarily, as mentioned above, assertions concerning the nature of the afterlife and what becomes of the spirits of deceased persons.

For all of this, these dissimilarities, while for the most part locally acknowledged, tend not to be dwelt upon. Many village residents participate without any perceived contradiction in a variety of religious activity, both long-established indigenous and more recently introduced Christian liturgy. One of the questions I ask of the various forms of religious practices that

locals take to be congruent with one another, or at least non-contradictory, is how is this congruence understood, what is the cultural framework that holds elements of Kalinga and Christian traditions together? Moving beyond a basic categorization of core tenets of trans-local Christian and Kalinga religious traditions into similarities and differences, a central part of my inquiry (elaborated upon in sect 4 below) relates to how we might account for the harmony or agreement that locals accord to their overall religious activity, inclusive of historically, doctrinally and cosmologically dissimilar elements.

Returning to analytical framing, one way in which local religious traditions are made to cohere with trans-local ones is in the bringing together conceptually of the apical divinity who is the referent of each set of traditions, Kalinga and Christian, into a unitary entity. As taken up in chapter II, the local conflation of Kabunyan the deity of Kalinga mythology and Apo Dios¹ of the Bible into a single divinity is a unanimous assertion among residents and clergy alike, and is one means of justifying, at the local level, more or less equal participation in traditional Kalinga reparatory ritual involving domestic animal sacrifice and Christian sacraments such as baptism and Holy Communion. I maintain, however, that there is a further and arguably more locally meaningful way by which people validate and incorporate a multiplicity of traditional Kalinga ritual and nationally orchestrated Christian liturgy into their everyday lives, beyond a claim that the same God is the referent of all such religious activity.

I argue that distinct and co-occurring religious traditions are locally made to cohere by being mutually framed by the Kalinga axiom that links morality to misfortune to other-worldly retribution. I further argue that the advantage of an approach which focuses on such axiomatic principles, separate from an analysis of ritual enactments and the apical divinities these affirm, is that it allows for a more in-depth account of the articulation between disparate forms of religious activity, local and trans-local.

1.2 Extending Rappaport's approach to a multi-religious site

One of the contributions that this thesis makes is that it builds upon the theoretical exposition which Roy Rappaport (1979, 1999) established in his analysis of ritual and religion. It does so in a particular way, namely by bringing Rappaport's conceptual framework to bear on a multi-religious, former colonial region: Christianized highland Kalinga. This is a landscape less straightforward in many respects than the mono-religious contexts that Rappaport tends to draw upon to exemplify his ideas. Importantly his

¹ The Ilocano term for 'God', also commonly used in Kalinga, and as found in Ilocano language Bibles, and used in Catholic and Anglican Sunday services.

conceptual framework is one which links ritual enactment to the over-arching axioms supportive of many of a given society's social and moral obligations and expectations, and ultimately to sacred postulates concerning deities and spirits, which in turn sanctify both the related axioms and the ritual activity.

As mentioned, I take it that there are historically, doctrinally and cosmologically distinct and co-occurring ritual cycles and liturgical orders which many Kalinga locals participate in without contradiction. Taking these sets of ritual orders as supportive of separate religious traditions, it would make sense to situate the broad religious principles that come to shape social and moral rules and values, and give meaning and legitimacy to their respective rituals, as also supportive of one religious tradition or another. Such fundamental principles or axioms would in turn be taken as veridical predicated on claims concerning an apical divinity, distinct and, once again, relative to each liturgical and cosmological order. Put another way, such co-occurring divinities taken to be the ultimate sanctifying entity behind their respective religious traditions, would in their own way sanctify or certify statements or axioms concerning the nature of such divinities, as well as society's rules and mores, a people's mythology or sacred texts, and related ritual activity – a parallel concatenation of rituals, axioms, cosmologies and Gods, in this case one traditional Kalinga and the other trans-local Christian. But what bearing could such an ordering of contingent assertions have on the aforementioned incongruities, tensions and gaps?

If we take Rappaport's notion that a society's fundamental assertions concerning its ultimate deity are typically devoid of social referents, are typically limited to notions of the existence and power of such deities or spirits, there may be very little appreciable distinctiveness between postulates concerning such deities. Of most relevance to ordinary residents, and what most tend to state emphatically, is that there is only one God, regardless of name – Kabunyan of Kalinga mythology or Apo Dios of biblical scripture. It is a locally construed conflation of Gods, Kalinga with Christian, which plays a large part in people's acceptance and participation in their total religious environment. Yet while these co-occurring religious traditions can be taken as complementary at one level, they do not always neatly align at others. Dissimilarity, as mentioned, is most clearly evident at the ground level, in rituals performed – an expiatory sacrifice of domestic animals, or participation in the Eucharist at Sunday mass, for example. Complexifying matters further, that both of these practices are locally understood to alleviate or protect from sickness is testament, I argue, to an integration of concepts of another sort; they both relate to the Kalinga axiom linking an individual's immoral action to spirit-world attributed retribution, often understood in terms of sickness. Dissimilarity, moreover, although less evident, can also be found at this same

intermediary level, in cosmological principles which shape the relationships between the social and the supernatural. I argue throughout the thesis that such principles, because they tend to be broad and can be ambiguous, in fact support many assumptions that can lead to social and moral incongruity and conflict.

But what, more specifically, are these cosmological principles and how do they shape the local social, moral and religious landscape? In Tarlao Kalinga a person who is afflicted with the sort of sickness that does not respond favourably to modern pharmaceuticals or the use of indigenous botanicals or remedies, or who is suffering from serious injury from an 'accident', is commonly understood to be beset with such illness or misfortune due to his or her own doing. Such unwelcome circumstances are understood to have come about as punishment for wrongdoing from a transcendent Other (either spirits or deity). Ritual involving the butchering of domestic animals and curative practices involving spiritually potent medicine are typical of ways in which people treat such illness and injury. That such 'spiritually complicated' illness and injury, and the associated ritual activity taken as remedy and resolution, are bound up together with everyday moral concerns is predicated on a prevalent understanding that God and or spirits take an interest in human affairs and will intervene with punishment. Here debilitating illness, serious accidents and other misfortune are taken to be manifestations of spirit-world retribution.

The notion of spirit-world punishment has currency not just in Kalinga but other regions of the Cordillera uplands as well. William Henry Scott (1969), in his essay on the origins of the concept of an indigenous monotheistic Creator deity among Cordilleran peoples, comments that in upland Kalinga the local deity Kabunyan "is thought of as a sort of dispenser of justice with a sway as wide as the concept of 'luck' or 'fate'," (1969: 130). To 'dispense justice' presupposes, among other things, that there has been some form of trespass, and to this Scott observes that (referring to the southern Kalinga *barangay* of Bangad) "proverbs warning against committing secret crimes which might go undetected among men begin with the phrase, "*Anat a' 'afunian* – There's Cabunian"² – that is, who'll see you if you do it," (*ibid.*). Referring to the Bontoc-Sagada region immediately to the south of Kalinga Province, Scott further notes that there the handling of the same situation "often begins, *Wada nan adikila* – There's the unseen," (*ibid.*). In Tarlao village when someone scolds, "Don't do bad things because there is a God" (*Achi ta mangwa rawingan tan agwad nan yungyung*), the implication is similarly one of forewarning, that one is being 'watched' and consequences are likely to follow.

² Differing from Scott's, my spelling of 'Kabunyan' best reflects the pronunciation in Tarlao dialect.

The understanding that morality is linked to misfortune is so tightly woven into the fabric of social life that in Kalinga people define this axiom as a 'commandment'. "You people over there, you have the Ten Commandments, but we Kalinga, we have our Three Commandments – *Pariyao*, *Wain*, *Ngelin*." Delivered with a hint of humour by a Tarlao man in conversation with me in the early part of my fieldwork (2008), this comment was the sort of common but telling refrain that people often fell back on when I raised questions regarding Kalinga *ugali* – traditions, or common and expected ways of doing things. The ironic reference to Mosaic scripture³, while expressed as difference between historically and doctrinally distinct religious orders, spoke also to a local awareness of the similarity between groupings of interdictions, Western (or foreign) and Kalinga. I present these interdictions in greater detail as a part of the following chapters, but briefly, *pariyao* is a Kalinga term used to denote wilful actions such as violence to persons or theft of their belongings including domestic animals and vegetable crops growing in outlying fields or mountain gardens, conduct which locals discourage and scold each other for; *wain* is the term used to refer to disrespectful or discourteous behaviour; and *ngelin* is the term used for an eclectic array of avoidance practices, particularly dietary restrictions, and with particular reference to pregnant women and children. These sorts of stipulations and interdictions variously concern action or conduct locals identify as undesirable, shameful or harmful. As an aggregate these 'commandments' bring together the sorts of things people should not do at the risk of social, ontological and spirit-world reactions, outcomes or consequences.

Of these three sorts of interdictions the most relevant to the exploration of co-occurring religious traditions and intersecting cosmologies is *pariyao*, that is, wrongdoing, immoral conduct or, in Christian terms, sin. The intervention of a transcendent Other, the judgement and punishment of moral failings, is captured by the Kalinga term *chusa*. The local term for spirit-world retribution which typically comes in the form of sickness and misfortune is referred to as *nachusa*, the manifestation of punishment. Sequentially *pariyao* and *chusa* account for much in the way of local interpretations concerning the relationships obtaining between the human and non-manifest aspects of the world, and it is in light of this *pariyao/chusa* axiom that the subsequent chapters are framed.

1.3 Bridging chapters thematically

There are two major themes that thread through the thesis, each taken up in various ways in all chapters, with most chapters drawing on or referencing both themes. Broadly, these themes concern the material presented above – the prevalent Kalinga conception that a person's immoral conduct (*pariyao*) will not go unnoticed or unpunished (*chusa*) by a

³ Exodus 20:2-17, and Deuteronomy 5:6-21.

transcendent Other; and the framing of aspects of one religious tradition through another, with outcomes at times never fully aligning to expectations. The first four ethnographic chapters (Chs II, III, IV and V) contextualize and extrapolate more or less directly the first of these themes, the over-arching Kalinga principle concerning *pariyao/chusa*. The first of these chapters (Ch II) explores the basic principle that misfortune is linked to morality by being interpreted as spirit-world retribution for wrongdoing. At the heart of this chapter is an analysis of im/moral conduct from a traditional Kalinga perspective as it hangs in seemingly irresolvable tension with trans-local Christian moral authority. The overlap and gaps between moral orders associated with co-occurring religious traditions reflects similar overlay and inconsistencies in co-occurring cosmological principles and frames the discussion on a local 'conflation of Gods'.

Chapters III and IV each engage a particular form of resolution to a *pariyao/chusa* state of affairs. The former investigates the types of domestic animal sacrifice taken as reparation made to a transcendent Other for wrongdoings committed that are taken to have provoked spirit-world attributed retribution. These acts of expiation and propitiation, to speed their efficacy, need to be followed by the protagonist's non-engagement in the sorts of conduct that are understood to have brought about the sickness or misfortune in the first place. The subsequent chapter addresses an alternative form of reparation when the retribution is understood to have come from God, Apo Dios. The central feature of a locally renowned vernacularized Christian Sunday mass – led by a woman whom God has called into service, and who while possessed of the Holy Spirit is able to communicate with spirits – is the administering of God's medicine to treat those who are sick, once again, because of some sort of moral failing. The medicine is given with the proviso that the sick person must both stop whatever it is that they are doing that displeases Apo Dios, and attend the mass and follow the teachings of the Bible. Here there is a strong emphasis on the Christianization of traditional healing practices, which are themselves predicated on the *pariyao/chusa* principle.

Chapter V focuses on Kalinga funeral traditions where the bereaved family and relatives are especially careful to treat the deceased with honour and respect, knowing that the newly released spirit of the deceased is potentially dangerous at this time and can cause illness, especially in children. Sickness that comes in the weeks or sometimes months after an entombment is often attributed to a disgruntled spirit of the deceased, offended or dishonoured due to some lack in ritual procedure or an insufficient outpouring of grief or any number of other deficiencies that might provoke a spirit into taking revenge. Regardless, the essential principle remains in that the victim of spirit-world attributed suffering is nearly

always to blame for their moral failings. The fifth ethnographic chapter (Ch VI) draws on the *pariyao/chusa* axiom more obliquely in the way that negative consequences related to the breach of avoidance practices concerning the future health or undesirable characteristics of an individual are deemed to come about, not as a result of spirit-world intervention, but in a more indeterminate way and over longer periods of time. Here the link between dietary restrictions and the future development of ill-favoured characteristics in a person, especially weakness in its manifold forms, is understood in terms of the ontological workings of the world rather than an agentive, retributive God or spirits.

Four out of the five ethnographic chapters (Chs II, IV, V and VI) also explore the intersection, that is to say, the acceptance of and widespread participation in many long-established Kalinga and trans-local Christian traditions, together which for the majority of Kalinga locals form an integrated part of everyday life in the hill country. Chapter II, as mentioned, establishes the *pariyao/chusa* axiom, but also endeavours to analytically disentangle the conflicting moral dilemma that can arise with opposing claims to moral order, submitting that together with distinct religious systems the village implicitly supports co-occurring, if mostly overlapping, moral orders relative to those systems. Chapter IV (vernacularized Christianity) and chapter V (Kalinga funerals) both examine the co-occurrence, albeit in quite different expressions, of Christianity and the related assertions and practices constitutive of Kalinga religion. While the latter brings to light the fundamental and irresolvable differences in Kalinga and Christian cosmology vis-à-vis the afterlife, the former illustrates a particular framing of Kalinga healing traditions through the performance of an indigenous Christian mass. This Sunday gathering brings together Bible readings, creedal professions and church hymns with spirit possession, predictions of the future, and healing practices. Moreover, the integration is such that there is in this modest, locally constructed Sunday church service not only a form of Christianity in its own right, but an emergent Kalinga tradition now some two decades old.

Finally, chapter VI, an analysis of Kalinga avoidance practices, juxtaposes Church stipulations concerning abstinences from eating meat and undertaking work during Christian Holy Week against Kalinga dietary restrictions, much of them to do with eating particular parts of animals, and the local taboos around working in the fields during specific agricultural rites. Through such a comparison I show how people come to terms with important Christian traditions by contextualizing them through an indigenous framework and, relationally, how in this way other Kalinga avoidance practices can come to be associated with Christianity and modernity more broadly.

1.4 Questions framing religious and moral pluralism

Throughout the thesis I argue that in Tarlao two historically, doctrinally and cosmologically distinct religious and moral systems co-occur in the same arena, competing in some respects, complementary in others, and that they intersect in particular ways without completely collapsing into one another. Through the use of manifold ethnographic examples I endeavour to show that not only do indigenous practices remain spatially and temporally distinct from local and trans-local Christian ones, but that people's assertions concerning the Kalinga spirit-world, grounded as it is in local mythology, as well as their understanding of the nature of the human spirit/soul and the afterlife remain conceptually distant from Christian doctrine.

In light of coterminous Kalinga religious traditions and trans-local Christian ones pertaining to the village fieldsite and surrounds, the primary question I pursue in this thesis is what at the conceptual level allows for such distinct religious and moral traditions to be generally accepted and to be participated in for the most part without contradiction? At what points do such diverse ways of interpreting the relationships obtaining between the social and the supernatural intersect? And when (given that) they do intersect, when people bring together new and old *ugali* or traditions, when one pre-established way of doing things impinges upon, supports or frames, or conversely is impinged upon, supported or framed by another, how are doctrinally and cosmologically defined differences in practice reconciled with each other, and how is the basis for that reconciliation best understood? I propose that building on Rappaport's work linking performative acts in ritual to contingent levels of sanctification is one way forward, that taking aspects of Rappaport's thinking to a pluralistic religious environment provides an important means for discussing some of the assumptions and suppositions that might be created on both sides as one religious and moral tradition is understood at least in part through the parameters of another.

1.5 Rappaport's sanctifying postulates and sanctified axioms

It is perhaps too rudimentary a point, but in Tarlao Kalinga – and, with inevitable variation in ritual specifics, no doubt other highland villages (*barangays*) as well – the seasonal agricultural rites and the butchering of domestic animals as one means of acknowledging local spirits are not practices supported in a trans-local Christian liturgical order. Neither is, for example, the Eucharistic rite as one means of Christian salvation undertaken as a part of indigenous ritual activity. In Kalinga the host of life-cycle rituals and activity linked to spirit-world expiation and propitiation, and those rituals associated with the mass and the Eucharistic canon, can be segregated for anthropological exploration according to where, when and by whom they can be performed, and so on. Yet what on the one hand may be

drawn apart for analysis is on the other in everyday practice engaged with and accepted more or less equally by most if not all in the community (save select individuals such as those who lead Christian congregations in an official capacity). In other words, despite historical and cultural differences in assertions made and rituals practiced relative to local traditions and mythology and to Christian doctrine, many Tarlao residents meaningfully participate in both traditional Kalinga *and* trans-local Christian liturgies. Such prevalent engagement in differing traditions suggests an underlying degree of locally conceived commonality between trans-local Christianity and those integrated practices and assertions constitutive of Kalinga religion.

To support this and further arguments I will make in this regard I draw in large part on Rappaport's (1979, 1999) approach to ritual and religion, in particular to his conceptions concerning contingencies of sanctification, and to the sorts of assertions and axioms grounded in ritual and other forms of social action. Moreover, I use Rappaport's conceptual framework in a particular way which, I argue, accommodates the abovementioned commonality.

Briefly, part of Rappaport's encompassing theory of ritual and religion is that a given ritual cycle or liturgical order, by an internal logic, both substantiates and is subordinate to a related notion concerning something like an ultimate sanctifying entity or force, a transcendent Other, either spirit or deity. Here the enactment of a particular set of rituals drawn from and supportive of a particular oral or textual tradition, beholden to a distinct religious order, and sanctified by recourse to a specific cosmological order, bespeaks a particular God or class of spirits that resides at the apex of the relevant conceptual system. By this account two or more historically, doctrinally and cosmologically distinct but co-occurring sets of liturgical orders (e.g., indigenous Kalinga and trans-local Christian) should in theory refer to more or less distinct assertions concerning ultimate deities/spirits, each apical to its own cosmology, and each to whom a different set of rituals would be directed. Yet, as just mentioned, this is not the case in Tarlao Kalinga, where residents have professed to me time and again in response to questions that bring together Kalinga *ugali* and God, namely that there is only one God, that Kabunyan of Kalinga mythology and Apo Dios of biblical scriptures are in fact one and the same. But how do we reconcile such definitive assertions with the more obvious differences in the historical, political, social and local/trans-local relevance of ritual activity? How do we account for an aggregate of ritual activity that while arguably constituting a society's overall ritual, moral and religious cohesiveness, is nonetheless sanctified by, or refers back to, different cosmologies?

If traditional Kalinga and trans-local Christian ritual orders are fundamentally different – not just in form and performance but in regards to the cosmological order to which they pertain – but people's assertions about God or the Ultimate Creator are fundamentally the same, I suggest there will necessarily be some manner of convergence or agreement at an intermediary step. Here I draw on Rappaport's extrapolations of a class of assertions he calls 'cosmological axioms'. These axioms are better understood if situated in his broader theory of the process of sanctification. Setting out a hierarchical or sequential dimension to liturgical orders, Rappaport expounds on two closely related concepts which he calls 'Ultimate Sacred Postulates', elemental statements about gods and the like, and 'cosmological axioms', related assertions about the cosmos which underpin a society's fundamental social principles. Both concepts are useful in, among other things, connecting the Kalinga Three Commandments – *pariyao*, *wain* and *ngelin* – to a set of overarching principles concerning the nature of the Kalinga cosmos, itself sanctified by a more remote postulate concerning the existence and power of the Kalinga God.

Among the types of postulates Rappaport calls ultimate and sacred are the various religious creeds and declarations of faith which speak of the existence of a singular divinity, citing examples from Judaism, Islam and Christianity (1999: 277). But he equally cites, in societies where no such creeds exist, the various implicit postulates concerning the existence and power of spirits apparent in the society's major rituals (1999: 263). Importantly, Rappaport notes that such postulates are typically devoid of social or material references. For instance, the Kalinga phrase *agwod nan yungyung* (there is a God), and the Jewish *Shema*, in which is found "The Lord our God the Lord is One", say next to nothing concerning the natural world or social affairs of the people who proclaim such things. These creeds are nonetheless social facts, with the Kalinga assertion being ancient beyond memory, and the *Shema* spanning the 3,000 years over which people through ritual have professedly recited it verbatim (1999: 279).

If no one any longer recited the creeds which re-affirm a particular divinity (which in turn sanctifies the principles concerning the nature of the universe from which the relevant rules of society, including such creeds, are derived) then that divinity "would cease to be a social fact, whatever the supernatural case might be. As far as present day society is concerned, Jupiter, Woden, En-Lil and Marduk are no longer anything more than figments of ancient imaginings, for no one continues to establish or re-establish their being by calling their names in ritual," (1999: 279). Or, I would add, by giving them power over human affairs, as Tarlao locals do with both Kabunyan and Apo Dios. Locals validate the other-worldly link between moral misconduct and deemed subsequent misfortune through reparatory sacrifice

in regards to the former, and in regards to the latter, validate Christian axioms concerning salvation and the afterlife by participation in the Mass. This has important implications for assessing differences (perhaps initially competing, but eventually complementary) between conterminous Ultimate Sacred Postulates, as I will discuss below.

Further to this, Rappaport states that whereas "Ultimate Sacred Postulates can be invalidated simply by being ignored or rejected, they cannot be falsified," (1999: 280). Briefly, this relates to the above-mentioned characteristic, that these postulates are "devoid, or close to devoid, of material significata. They are, therefore, invulnerable to falsification by reference to evidence naturally available in this world," (*ibid.*). On the same grounds neither are they empirically verifiable, although Rappaport notes that "canons of verification are culturally various, and evidence inadequate for scientists may be regarded by others as compelling," (1999: 280-81). Here Rappaport stresses that despite being beyond verification and falsification such postulates are taken by adherents to be unquestionable. He takes this "characteristic to be of essence, defining sanctity as the quality of unquestionableness imputed by congregations to postulates in their nature objectively unverifiable and absolutely unfalsifiable," (1999: 281, emphasis suppressed). This characteristic of sanctity is key to the hierarchical relationship Ultimate Sacred Postulates have to cosmological axioms (detailed below). Rappaport further states that

Sanctity by this account is a property of religious discourse and *not* of the objects signified in or by that discourse. In this usage it is not Christ, for example, who is sacred, but the liturgical works and acts proclaiming his divinity that are sacred. Christ's divinity, distinct from its stipulation and acceptance, is another matter. Whereas sanctity in my usage is a quality of *discourse itself*, divinity, when it is stipulated, is a putative property of the subject matter asserted *in* that discourse.

(1999: 281, original emphasis)

Rappaport puts forward two bases for the unquestionableness (sanctity) of Ultimate Sacred Postulates, both emerging from the same general feature of liturgy, namely canonical invariance (1999: 286). The first basis is 'acceptance' by participants of that which is encoded in liturgy through conformity to that liturgy, which by its nature is more or less invariant. To conform to that which one is publicly participating in is to accept it, is not to question it. Part of what gives credibility and authority to ritual is its fixed repetitive form, from which arises the second basis for the characteristic of sanctity: 'certainty'. Drawing on Wallace, who relates ritual to formal information theory, Rappaport notes that ritual is in a way a peculiar

form of communication because, while it could be said to convey meaning, it conveys no 'information' from sender to receiver. Ritual here is represented as a particular sequence of signals, which once announced, allows no uncertainty, no variance, and strictly speaking informs participants of nothing. "The stereotyping of ritual is orderliness raised to an extraordinary degree; rituals are predictable, the contingent probabilities in chains of ritual events are near unity," (Wallace, quoted in Rappaport, 1999: 285-86). Accordingly, "that which is represented in an invariant canon is thereby indicated to be changeless and without alternative and, thus, certain," (1999: 286, emphasis suppressed). Ultimate Sacred Postulates, then, are sacred insofar as they are unquestionable assertions proclaimed in invariant ritual contingent upon acceptance by participants and with certainty of their expression. Moreover, they sanctify, among other things, 'cosmological axioms'.

By 'cosmological axioms' Rappaport refers to "assumptions concerning the fundamental structure of the universe [...] the paradigmatic relationships in accordance with which the cosmos is constructed," (1999: 264). Drawing on his fieldwork with the Maring of PNG, Rappaport includes in this category "Maring notions of the world as constituted by a set of oppositions between certain qualities which are, on the one hand, associated with the two general classes of spirits and, on the other hand, manifested in the social and physical world," (1999: 263). He further includes "among Maring cosmological axioms their conceptions concerning the mediation of these oppositions through ritual," (1999: 264). As opposed to broad elemental statements about God, "cosmological axioms are more specific and often do have direct explicit and substantial political, social and ecological import," and they "serve as the logical basis from which both specific rules of conduct and the proprieties of social life can be derived," (1999: 265, emphasis suppressed).

Among Kalinga cosmological axioms is the principle that Kabunyan favours and protects especially Tarlao people, who are understood through local mythology to be the first people Kabunyan created and from whom all humanity proceeded.⁴ This assertion is related to one more basic, that Kabunyan is by nature benevolent (one divine characteristic among others attributed to this deity in Kalinga mythology), and this in turn is contingent upon an ultimately basic and sanctifying postulate concerning the existence and power of Kabunyan. Another elemental principle concerns the assertion that Kabunyan is always watching human affairs, and yet another is that Kabunyan will punish transgressions of the social and moral order to which he is intimately connected. These three elemental principles tie into an

⁴ There is no reason to think that other Kalinga groups do not have their own mythology which situates them as the origin of human kind. Taken from the perspective of other Kalinga groups, such cosmological principles would likewise justify social rules and interpretations of events in the natural world, but relative to themselves.

understanding fundamental to Kalinga social life, that moral misconduct is linked to misfortune in that the latter is taken as divine retribution (*chusa*) for the former (*pariyao*).

Among Kalinga cosmological axioms are notions concerning reparatory sacrifice as a means of mediating principles of *pariyao* and *chusa*. The rules governing ritual, including that of sacrifice – found on a level of Rappaport's hierarchy lower than Ultimate Sacred Postulates and cosmological axioms – substantiate and provide social import for the higher order principles and their relationships; they involve the human enactment of the elemental principles, transforming cosmology into conduct (1999: 266). Still another Kalinga cosmological axiom, inherent in local mythology, concerns the social action of revenge. Kabunyan's concern for his people extends to their competent techniques in warfare, a concern which implicitly condones avenging wrongs done to one's family or community related to inter-village conflict (detailed in Ch II).

Given that Ultimate Sacred Postulates neither provide a logical foundation for social life, nor for cosmological structure, their real significance according to Rappaport is their relationship with cosmological axioms, the way in which

They *sanctify*, which is to say *certify*, the entire system of understandings in accordance with which people conduct their lives. Without sanctification the axioms of cosmology would remain arbitrary, constituting nothing more than attempts at explanation. When a cosmology is sanctified it is no longer merely conceptual nor simply explanatory nor even speculative. It becomes something like an assertion, statement, description or report of the way the world in fact is. [... Whereas] Ultimate Sacred Postulates do not themselves provide the logical ground upon which the usages and rules of social life are established, they provide the ground, deeper than logic and beyond logic's reach, upon which cosmological structure can be founded. It follows that cosmological structures can change – expand, contract, or even be radically altered structurally – in response to changes in environmental or historical conditions without changes in, or even challenge to, Ultimate Sacred Postulates.

(1999: 265, original emphasis)

What, if anything, might be gained from challenging assertions, devoid of material and social referents, of a supreme deity whose existence and power sanctifies a society's elemental social principles? As Rappaport seems to suggest, it is the elemental principles or cosmological axioms, endowed with social and moral content and more or less distinctive to

each society, which hold a greater importance than the details of the ultimate unquestionable deity who certifies the axioms upon which liturgical order is founded. Rappaport argues that in essence the difference lies in societies' liturgical orders. It is in the ritual activity in which a group participates that important social and moral rules (e.g., the avoidance of *pariyao*), and the paradigmatic relationships which bind the cosmos and the social world to each other are to be found. Rituals are conducted in terms of society's rules, expectations and understandings, and these are legitimized in terms of the elemental principles from which they are derived, which themselves would appear arbitrary if not sanctified by an Ultimate Sacred Postulate, the formal expression of which is to be found in ritual. Simply put, religious ritual affirms the existence of the God or spirits who sanctify the axioms from which the rules of society are derived, some of those rules being the conducting of said rituals. Despite the way he represents the system hierarchically, Rappaport recognizes the circularity of that system. Insofar as

Ultimate Sacred Postulates are given perduring unquestionable status they become 'eternal verities,' through continuing social action, that is, through their recurrent representation in performances of liturgical orders. As eternal verities, however, they are taken to be the grounds upon which are founded the cosmic orders of which those liturgical orders are parts, and by which the performers are supposed to live. The ultimately sacred, which is generally understood to be the ground of existence, must be continuously or recurrently represented to themselves by those subordinate to it.

(1999: 286-87)

The central importance that Rappaport attributes to ritual enactment as a means of substantiating a religious conceptual framework, through performative acts which bring into being for people the ultimately sacred while grounding their most important principles, provides an effective way to approach the complexity in Kalinga of *pariyao/chusa* relationships obtaining between the social and the supernatural.

1.6 Individualizing and community-forming moralities

There is a broader purview, needless to say, of Kalinga religious activity which takes in other aspects of it besides *pariyao* and *chusa*, such as agricultural rites, action to protect from malignant spirits, and so on. However, given the pursuit of the social, moral and religious dynamics at play with the intersecting of differing cosmologies, it is the local assertions concerning the concatenation of moral failings, spirit-world attributed misfortune, and ritual as resolution that becomes of most interest to the present study. And it is not so much the

case that Kalinga locals are pre-eminently concerned with immorality in their lives, or with ritual for that matter. The latter is typically understated in many ways. People's concerns naturally tend towards the growing season, mountain gardens, means of livelihoods, maintaining relationships, awareness of spirit-world dangers, and the health and wellbeing of the family, especially the children. It is their particular assertions concerning the *nature* of sickness and misfortune, healing and curative ritual, and the links these have to the non-manifest world that lead to questions of morality.

In this and the following two sections I outline some of the prominent discussions concerning the anthropology of morality and ethical domains as a means of framing the juxtaposition, presented throughout the thesis in general and in the subsequent chapter in particular, of the Kalinga cosmological principle relating *pariyao* to *chusa* and trans-local Christian assertions concerning sin and eternal punishment.

As Michael Lambek (2010) points out, anthropologists have had relatively little to say explicitly about morality, or at least have not integrated their insights into a full picture (2010: 5). Similarly James Laidlaw (2002) comments that anthropology as a discipline has not yet developed a connected history, a body of theoretical reflection, or sustained field of enquiry in regards to the nature of ethics. Parkin (1985), along with Faubion (2001), Robbins (2007), and others, also recognize this lacuna in anthropology. Where moral concerns have been engaged with, Robbins, consistent with Laidlaw, notes that two broad approaches have dominated the emerging anthropology of morality – one that follows on from a Durkheimian model wherein all routine, normative social action is thought of as moral, and the other that “defines an action as moral only when actors understand themselves to perform it on the basis of free choices they have made,” (2007: 293). Of course these two major considerations in the study of morality, one focusing on the collective, the other on the individual, are not limited to anthropological discourse.

Graham and Haidt (2010) highlight a similar dichotomy in the analysis of morality in social psychology and raise questions pertaining to ethical domains. They discuss two of the primary concerns in this field – that of ‘care’, or responsibility for others, exemplified by the work of Carol Gilligan, and that of ‘justice’, or treating others fairly according to the rules of society, citing the work of Lawrence Kohlberg. Gilligan’s (1982) ‘ethic of care’ derives from developmental constructs of morality (taken from the lives of women as opposed to those of men, as has been the case historically). For Gilligan the “moral problem arises from conflicting responsibilities rather than from competing rights and requires for its resolution a mode of thinking that is contextual and narrative rather than formal and abstract. This

conception of morality as concerned with the activity of care centers moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conception of morality as fairness ties moral development to the understanding of rights and rules," (1982: 19). Kohlberg's (1969) influential work presents a Cognitive-Developmental approach to socialization and partly focuses on an 'ethic of justice' by looking at moral principles and values relative to society's rules, codes and conventions, and ultimately justice and human rights. Kohlberg proposes a six stage orientation to intentions and consequences in response to a moral dilemma weighing the value of human life against the value of strictly adhering to society's civic rules (1969: 379-80).

Graham and Haidt in their own work opt to describe a moral domain more expansive than merely these two traditional areas of interest (2010: 143). They propose instead their own "five foundations on which cultures construct a great variety of virtues and vices: harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, in-group/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity," (*ibid.*). These authors refer to their first two pairings of moral foundations (which more or less correspond to the central topics of care and justice) as 'individualizing' foundations "because they subserve moral systems that protect individuals and their rights. Conversely, they refer to their other three sets of moral foundations – those they denote as concerning religious proscriptions, the sanctity of hierarchy and authority, and the fidelity of congregations – as 'binding foundations' "because they subserve the social functions of limiting autonomy and self-expression to bind people into emergent social entities such as families, clans, guilds, teams, tribes, and nations," (2010: 143-44). Ultimately their point is that from "the perspective of an individualizing morality, such exclusivity is unfair and immoral, but from the perspective of a binding morality [...] it becomes clear how religious adherents can feel a moral obligation to help and trust their co-practitioners," (*ibid.*).

To demonstrate their more or less Durkheimian argument that religion (society) binds individuals into moral communities, Graham and Haidt juxtapose those principles of morality which concern the individual against those which de-emphasise the individual in favour of the individual's place in society. Durkheim (1953) himself affords no particular weight to notions concerning the individual and individual reasoning in the moral domain, aiming instead to "free morality from sentimental subjectivism" (1953: 67). For Durkheim morality begins with membership of a group, with the crux of his argument structured around the following points:

- (i) The qualification 'moral' has never been given to an act which has individual interests, or the perfection of the individual from a purely egotistic point of

view, as its object; (ii) if I as an individual do not constitute *in myself* a moral end, this is also true of the other individuals who are more or less like me; (iii) from which we conclude that, *if a morality exists*, it can only have as object the group formed by the associated individuals – that is to say, society, *with the condition that society be always considered as being qualitatively different from the individual beings that compose it*.

(1953: 37, original emphasis)

Additionally, in his approach to morality Durkheim defines two characteristics, obligation and desirability, that he takes to be universal to all moral acts. The characteristic of obligation, or duty – pertaining to rules invested with special authority and hence which compel obedience – he takes to align with Kantian thinking. The characteristic of desirability – relating to praise-worthy acts favourable to the agent – he proposes as supplementary to obligation, no less important, and that the two together warrant consideration in the study of morality (1953: 36).

Raymond Firth (1961) presents an alternate view, noting firstly that, given Durkheim's model of morality is predicated on "elements of authority and desirability, moral standards tend to be regarded as absolutes," (1961: 186). Firth goes on to say that because the nature and authority of society are normally perceptible and interpreted only through the actions of individuals, the moral authority of society thus becomes vague and amorphous. Firth argues that the "moral rules of a society may be clear-cut. But their application to particular social actions may be difficult to determine with any exactness, and individuals tend to interpret them in accordance with their own special interests," (1961: 188). Zigon (2007) puts his critique in somewhat stronger terms, stating that "in replacing Kant's moral law with society, Durkheim also negated morality as a particular topic of study for those who follow his assumption that morality is congruent with society (or culture). For when morality is equated with society (or culture), it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to analytically separate a moral realm for study," (2007: 3). Other scholars have contributed with important alternative theoretical perspectives.

1.7 Freedom, the ethical subject, and conflict in value hierarchies

Laidlaw's (2002) primary focus with respect to an emergent anthropology of ethics is, not a rule-bound morality that compels us to act, but rather the notion of ethical freedom.⁵ He

⁵ Laidlaw references Bernard Williams in making a distinction between the terms morality and ethics, wherein the former involves judgements made only in terms of (moral) obligations, which in turn can be outweighed only by other such obligations. "Moral thinking, then, is a matter of weighing obligations and deciding where one's duty lies, and moral judgements rests on whether one chooses,

argues that "Durkheim's conception of the social so completely identifies the collective with the good that an independent understanding of ethics appears neither necessary nor possible. There is no conceptual space for it," (2002: 312). He goes on to say that "Durkheim's 'social' is, effectively, Immanuel Kant's notion of the moral law, with the all-important change that the concept of human freedom, which was of course central for Kant, has been neatly excised from it," (*ibid.*). Laidlaw argues that for a productive engagement in an anthropology of ethics a "vision of human life, which simply lacks ethical complexity, dilemma, reasoning, decision, and doubt, does not constitute an advance," (2002: 315). He advocates instead that "an anthropology of ethics will only be possible – will only be prevented from constantly collapsing into general questions of social regularity and social control – if we take seriously, as something requiring ethnographic description, the possibilities of human freedom," (*ibid.*). Laidlaw supports his arguments partly with reference to Foucault's approach to writing about aspects of ethical life that cannot be captured in a history of moral codes or social rules. According to Laidlaw Foucault's understanding of the domain of ethics "also includes our responses to invitations or injunctions to make oneself into a certain kind of person," (2002: 321-22). This sort of self-fashioning as a practice of freedom, as well as the space created for decision-making, and the conscious act of reflection are for Laidlaw essential for a more substantive treatment of ethics.

Foucault (1985), moreover, in his analysis of morality distinguishes two relational but independent facets, that of a 'moral code' and that of people's actual behaviour with reference to the code. Foucault begins by stating that by 'morality' he means "a set of values and rules of action that are recommended to individuals through the intermediary of various prescriptive agencies such as the family (in one of its roles), educational institutions, churches, and so forth," (1985: 25). Foucault notes that in particular cases "these rules and values are plainly set forth in a coherent doctrine and an explicit teaching," (*ibid.*). In other cases they may not be so explicit, and people may come to be aware of them in a more diffuse or implicit manner. So that "far from constituting a systematic ensemble, they form a complex interplay of elements that counterbalance and correct one another [...] With these qualifications taken into account, we can call this prescriptive ensemble a 'moral code,'" (*ibid.*). Foucault further states that "morality also refers to the real behavior of individuals in relation to the rules and values that are recommended to them," (*ibid.*). Here he refers to the

whatever one's desires or inclinations, to act in accordance with this duty," (Laidlaw, 2002: 316-17). Ethics, on the other hand, Laidlaw takes to be a more encompassing evaluative system, but with the crucial difference in that it does not involve blame or guilt. More in line with Lambek (2010: 8-9), I take there to be an overlap between the two terms and tend to use them throughout the dissertation interchangeably.

degree to which people comply with a standard of conduct, or obey or resist an interdiction or a prescription, or respect or disregard a set of values. In other words, here the question is of how “individuals or groups conduct themselves in reference to a prescriptive system that is explicitly or implicitly operative in their culture, and of which they are more or less aware. We can call this level of phenomena ‘the morality of behaviors’,” (*ibid.*).

Foucault then makes a further distinction stating that aside from a code of conduct, and the sorts of conduct that may be measured by this code, there is in addition the “manner in which one ought to form oneself as an ethical subject acting in reference to the prescriptive elements that make up the code,” (1985: 26). Of this Foucault describes four differences or modes. The first he calls the ‘determination of the ethical substance’ by which he means, in brief, “the way in which the individual has to constitute this or that part of himself as the prime material of his moral conduct,” citing as an example in relation to fidelity, a certain mastery or vigilance of the will in relation to a moral code (*ibid.*). The second difference he calls the ‘mode of subjection’, that is, “the way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice,” (1985: 27). The third he denotes as ‘elaboration’ or ‘ethical work’ “that one performs on oneself, not only in order to bring one’s conduct into compliance with a given rule, but to attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one’s behavior,” (*ibid.*). The final category Foucault refers to as the ‘telos’ of the ethical subject, where a “moral action tends toward its own accomplishment; but it also aims beyond the latter, to the establishing of a moral conduct that commits an individual, not only to other actions always in conformity with values and rules, but to a certain mode of being, a mode of being characteristic of the ethical subject,” (1985: 27-28). Foucault argues that “all moral action involves a relationship with the reality in which it is carried out, and a relationship with the self. The latter is not simply ‘self-awareness’ but self-formation as an ‘ethical subject’,” (1985: 28). He states that moral action is indissociable from the forms of self-activity involved with the self-formation of an ethical subject.

Joel Robbins (2007), however, reminds us that too fine a focus on the actor or an unbridled recourse to freedom runs the risk of “falling into the trap of promoting western common sense models of social action to the lofty position of universal theories,” (2007: 295). Robbins stresses vigilance in this regard because “even the most sophisticated discussions of morality in anthropology can, by virtue of emphasizing ideas like freedom, choice, and creativity, give up on any strong model of culture in the Durkheimian vein,” (*ibid.*). As Robbins might put it, arguably one of anthropology’s defining strengths has always been a focus on ‘unfreedom’. He proposes instead, following Dumont, that “a clear understanding of how values operate in culture can help us formulate a model of freedom that does not

disregard the force of cultural norms and the routines they produce. In Dumont's scheme, values are determinations of the relative importance of elements of a culture (beliefs, ideas, things, etc.) and as such always serve to produce hierarchies of more or less valued elements," (2007: 296). Values in this way can be understood "as those elements of culture that structure the relations between other elements," (2007: 297). An image of culture as a stable, enduring hierarchical arrangement emerges, not unlike a Durkheimian view of society.

But here Robbins effectively introduces a Weberian model wherein cultures are divided between value-spheres and the relations between them, noting that such spheres, among them economic, political, aesthetic, erotic and intellectual spheres, will cohere according to different laws (2007: 298). In Robbins' reading, Weber's overall model is

one of culture as made up of spheres, each sphere governed by a different value and destined as such to enter into relationships of irresolvable contradiction with all others. Weber shares with Dumont a construal of values as things that possess an ability to consistently ('rationally') organize the elements of culture, and he crucially shares a commitment to looking at culture as structured by values that are themselves part of culture.

(2007: 299)

Importantly, this notion of distinct, ordered and irreconcilable value-spheres, particularly the harmony and conflict between them, provides a way to incorporate notions of freedom and decision-making in the various ethical demands that such a hierarchy imposes on an individual. Robbins observes that

Harmony within and between spheres puts in place a Durkheimian morality of reproduction, where rules are clear and the compulsion to follow them very strong. Conflict, by contrast, invites, indeed demands, the kinds of reflexive choice that Laidlaw associates with ethical freedom.

(2007: 299)

Integrating these opposing, seemingly incongruent perspectives, Robbins adds that

one advantage of a theory that sees values as crucial to cultural structure is that it then becomes possible to define cultural change in operational terms as occurring only when key values change. Such change can occur either because

new values are introduced or because the hierarchical relations that hold between traditional values have been transformed. When values change in either of these ways, conflicts between them are destined to arise as old values attempt to hold their position in the face of the growing importance of previously subordinated ones. Over time, new stable structures may arise, but during the course of change conflict is likely to be the norm.

(2007: 301-2)

Here Robbins shows how a hierarchical system of values can account for social change or religious conversion where newly introduced ways of seeing and doing jostle for position in a given society. In Kalinga, Church and State have over the decades also orchestrated a number of significant cultural changes – the abandonment of the practices of displaying corpses in chairs (*sarachil*) and head-taking (*whuma'ag*) being among the most notable. Other changes include the waning of boys' initiation celebrations (*tankil*) in favour of Christian baptism – all the initiation young children need these days, as some village parents put it. Another and perhaps the most significant change from within local society is one which stands, not in opposition to the Church, but alongside it as a complementary form of vernacularized Christianity. As mentioned above, in Tarlao village an indigenous Sunday morning mass led by one of the village healers frames traditional healing practices through a Christian cosmology, which in part is itself locally reinterpreted according to the *pariyao/chusa* axiom (Ch IV). While placing more or less value on one cultural element over another is one way to account for circumstances that can produce moral disjuncture in a pluralistic religious landscape, ritual enactment is another way.

1.8 Rappaport, ritual and morality

Lambek (2000) argues that a discourse on ethics should not “be limited to the religious sphere and certainly not to a theistic one,” (2000: 313). Rappaport (1979, 1999), however, has put forward a compelling argument for that very connection by analyzing ritual as an activity which establishes a moral state of affairs relative to the broader canon of which the ritual being performed is a particular instance. For Rappaport the morality that ritual effects is constituted through the pre-established stipulations and expectations associated with ‘liturgical orders’ – those individual rituals as well as the more or less invariant sequences of rituals encoded by persons other than the performers (1999: 169). “Liturgical orders provide criteria in terms of which events [...] may be judged. As such, liturgical orders [in accordance with their own criteria, statements and creeds] are intrinsically correct or moral,” (1999: 133). If the ritual activity in concern reaffirms particular cosmological relationships between the human and spirit worlds, or is otherwise what we may refer to as religious ritual, the pre-

established content of religious orders may also outline particular codes and tenets concerning how people ought to live morally. However, while sources of moral commandments, teachings and guidance such that are found in scriptures and creeds and much of Kalinga mythology maybe be explicitly drawn upon or implicitly referred to during ritual, providing a template for how people should conduct themselves with respect to God/spirits and each other, they do not themselves establish a moral state of affairs among congregations. For Rappaport it is the direct participation in ritual that establishes morality (*ibid.*).

More specifically for Rappaport morality is derived from the establishment of convention. Taking the common meaning of the term convention to be a general, public understanding, a regular procedure, or an institution, Rappaport argues that to establish a convention is both to ascribe existence to it and to accept it, implying that these two notions are mutually dependent (1999: 125). He suggests, moreover, that the performance of ritual meets both of these requirements, insofar as the proper participation in ritual necessitates adherence to the pre-established (conventional) form and content of the broader liturgical order, perforce ascribing existence to it, re-establishing it, and (given the appropriate level of propriety required) accepting it. Acceptance of whatever is undertaken in ritual is critical to Rappaport's general position on morality.

More specifically, the sorts of rituals basic to Rappaport's proposition are those which involve performative acts, those which he describes as conventional acts and utterances that achieve conventional effects. Performative speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Rosaldo, 1982; Butler, 1997) or, in some accounts (Finnegan, 1969; Tambiah, 1985), performative acts more generally, are acts which are understood to bring about the effects to which they pertain, typically some form of transformation to the social environment (a topic which I address in depth in chapter III). If we take it that to perform a ritual is at once to (1) conform to its more or less invariant form, to (2) conform to the broader liturgical order of which the ritual is a specific instance, and to (3) realize or to make that order substantial, then we begin to approach Rappaport's idea that ritual establishes convention through its very enactment. Moreover, if acceptance, as mentioned, is an intrinsic part of establishing convention, then it would be reasonable to associate a certain level of obligation with that acceptance. In other words, if one has openly participated in ritual, in all its formality and propriety, then one has intrinsically accepted the pre-encoded content of that ritual and, moreover, one then becomes unequivocally bound to it. If one were to act thereafter in a contradictory manner to that which was implicitly agreed to in the bodily enactment of ritual, then one would be in

breach of all that was publicly accepted through its participation. It is this breach of obligation that Rappaport takes to be moral failing.

Lambek (2000), however, argues that the sort of 'performatively established morality' that Rappaport proposes "is not restricted to highly marked, decisive events such as being blessed and giving blessings, getting married or marrying someone off, but manifest also in the following of practical routines, in continuous acts such as observing taboos or wearing amulets," (2000: 315). For Lambek the whole structural line of explanation seems inadequate to describe morality. "Morality cannot be simply an act of commission or an acceptance of obligation but includes the reasoning behind choosing to do so and the reasoning that determines how to balance one's multiple and possibly conflicting commitments," (*ibid.*). In exemplifying his point Lambek productively utilizes a historical perspective to consider the potential of certain aspects of the philosophy of Aristotle for configuring approaches to religion. "Aristotle's insight is that in practice we always run up against contingencies; circumstances force us to continuously exercise our judgment," (*ibid.*). It is this notion of purposeful, ongoing adherence to a particular moral state of affairs that distinguishes it from the punctuation of formal ritual activity in people's everyday lives, activity which helps to set parameters (and gets people to accept those parameters) against which future action can be judged.

To contextualize his point Lambek juxtaposes the philosophical thought of Aristotle with that of Plato, focusing on the opposition Plato creates between rational contemplation, or philosophy, and all the forms of thought that had appeared earlier, which Plato referred to as 'poetry' and regarded as inferior⁶ (2000: 310). Lambek argues that one way to move beyond the essential dualism which he proposes has ultimately emanated from Plato's philosophy (Lambek links Tylor and 19th century evolutionist theories back to such thinking) is to instead consider Aristotle's line of reasoning which, in the domain of judgement and morality, transcends this dichotomy. In brief, Lambek states that in contrast to Plato's binary oppositions, Aristotle, who is more empirical in his approach, "offers a triad of contemplative, practical, and productive intellect, respectively *episteme*, *praxis*, and *poiesis* [noting that these] are complementary rather than opposed and thus not apportioned to one

⁶ Lambek summarizes by noting that "Plato distinguishes reason from *mimesis*, characterizing the latter by its absorption in particulars and its inability to separate subject from object. *Mimesis*, in effect, is a kind of surrender to the immediacy of sensations," (2000: 310). Plato replaced this with analytic thought, which alone he took to be "capable of dealing with logical universals, mathematical propositions, true generalizations. Plato thus distinguishes the study of abstractions – goodness, beauty, etc. – from a concern with specific instances, the permanence or timelessness of the abstract from the fluctuating character of the concrete, and philosophy from poetry, narrative, and opinion," (*ibid.*)

kind of society in contrast to another," (2000: 311). One of Lambek's arguments in this regard is that the concept of praxis transcends Plato's categories, and that

This is especially true of that aspect of praxis distinguished as *phronesis*, practical judgement or deliberation. *Phronesis* has to do with the application of reason to particular circumstances. As situated thought it thus denies the unilateral connection Plato makes between reason and the abstract grasp of timeless universals. Indeed, Aristotle says quite specifically that it refers to contemplation of things that are variable.

(2000: 312)

Distinguishing his position from Rappaport's, Lambek argues that "virtue is not merely the property of adherence to the terms established through performative acts but, in pursuing excellence [the striving for human good], something which initiates them in the right circumstances," (2000: 315). Lambek notes that ultimately for Rappaport religion "provides not merely the basis for specific moral judgments or the space for thinking morally but the very foundations of morality itself," (2000: 313). It is here, though, that Lambek suggests that an anthropology of morality needs to articulate the relationship between specific ritual acts and the non-ritual continuity of everyday life (which is nonetheless a form of doing, or performance) which takes place between them, integrating elements of a theory of practice with a theory of performance (2000: 314). To this end he draws on Aristotle, who is "concerned with the ongoing exercise of judgment in personal practice that constitutes virtue," (*ibid.*). Importantly these two perspectives on morality are complementary. Morality for Rappaport and Aristotle "is not a coherent, imposed system, a specific set of rules, an unequivocal code, or an uncompromising disciplinary order to which people are obliged to submit unqualifiedly [...] but the forms and acts by which commitments are engaged and virtue accomplished," (2000: 315). So while morality is established in the rituals that punctuate quotidian life, it is also evident in the on-going adherence to the obligation accepted in ritual's performance.

I take these discussions on moralities and ethical domains in consideration of one of the main interests of the thesis: the social, moral and cosmological dissonance that can come about when people assert that misfortune is divinely derived or spiritually complicated, and concomitantly, when these assertions are made locally meaningful with recourse to coterminous, differently configured religious orders. Not only is the socially-informed and socially-informing axiomatic principle of *pariyao/chusa* (wrongdoing/retribution) thoroughly invested with morality according to an internal logic, but the imperfect way it

maps onto corresponding aspects of Christian doctrine⁷ can lead to moral tension when what is considered just and right according to one way of understanding and doing is categorically sinful according to another – a situation made especially complex when people for the most part accept and make meaningful both religious traditions in their lives.

1.9 The ethnographic context: Tarlao village, Kalinga Province

Open on three sides to unbroken views of an elevated horizon of blue hills and ridgelines, the primary fieldsite for this thesis, Tarlao village, is a rural community comprised of around 150 households, and is located about a 40 minute jeepney-ride⁸ on a mostly unpaved road up from the nearest township. The village is situated between the Pasil and Chico river valleys in the southern Kalinga highlands of the Cordillera ranges, northern Luzon, Philippines. Kalinga, one of the provinces of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR),⁹ is a mostly mountainous territory, relatively sparsely populated¹⁰ and counted among the poorest of Philippine provinces. From the nearest township one bus a day makes a long day's journey north to the Kalinga Provincial Capital, Tabuk, while another runs south on a half days' journey to the urban centre and markets of Bontoc in Mountain Province. Kalinga Province has seven municipalities¹¹ which together comprise some 150 *barangays* or barrios, also referred to as villages. *Barangays* are also political subdivisions each with an elected *barangay kapitan* who represents the village at the municipal level.

Tarlao village is divided into 16 or 17 *puroks* or clusters of houses separated into an east and a west side by a central swath of about three dozen rice terraces (*papayao*) (in partial view, pictured above). These number among the oldest of the village's rice fields and some of them feature in the important seasonal *to'or* planting and harvesting rituals. The remaining *papayao*, the vast majority of them, are cut into the surrounding slopes and descend down to the river. The mud-fashioned retaining ridges that bound each *payao*, individually shaped to follow the contours of the hillsides, serve also as pathways, of which a few strategically chosen ones that lie between the two halves of the village have been cemented over as single-file pedestrian walkways. Houses are typically wood plank and solidly built a metre or so off the ground, most with rusted brown, corrugated-iron rooftops. Houses, churches, rice

⁷ For example, the idea that God punishes accumulative unrepentant sin in an ethicized afterlife, an understanding fundamentally different from a Kalinga cosmological framework wherein notions of reward or punishment for the spirit of the deceased are notably absent, as detailed in Chs II and V.

⁸ Originally converted from surplus American jeeps from WWII, jeepneys are typically colourfully painted Filipino motor vehicles which carry passengers for a small fare.

⁹ Seven Provinces come under the CAR: Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province, Kalinga, Abra, and Apayao.

¹⁰ The population of Kalinga Province was around 200,000 at the 2010 census, accessed Dec 19 2012 at <http://www.citypopulation.de/php/philippines-admin.php?adm1id=1432>

¹¹ Balbalan, Lubuagan, Pasil, Pinukpuk, Rizal, Tanudan, and Tinglayan.

granaries and *barangay* halls are built from communally owned pine trees logged from the surrounding hills that make up part of Tarlao's expansive territory, or ancestral domain; families from the village are free to log these trees for their own use but they are not for use or sale outside the village. Potable water is channelled from a mountain stream above the village, feeding into a concrete holding tank and by means of gravity piped down to or near most clusters of houses, and in a few instances to individual homes. Rice fields are complexly irrigated from the same water source which has its headwaters in the remote reaches of the valley.

As is the case in much if not all of the Cordillera, terraced wet-rice cultivation is the agricultural focus in the Tarlao valley. Of Kalinga communities it is the northern ones, according to Jules De Raedt (1989), who most recently practised dry-rice swidden farming before they too adopted flooded field practices. Tarlao residents also grow, in 'mountain gardens' in patches on the slopes, a variety of vegetables including beans, squash, spinach-like *sayote* leaves and *camote* (tropical sweet potato). Chickens are kept but not typically for eggs; these along with pigs and occasionally dogs and *carabaos* (water buffalos) are mostly reserved for religious sacrifice or celebrations. Small mud fish and water snails found in the flooded rice fields at times add variety to the standard fare of rice and vegetables. Of course, for those households with resources, professional incomes or international remittances, all manner of fresh and tinned food, clothing and household goods and so forth are available at the township markets.

The rough track from the nearest township that leads up into the hills towards Tarlao stops short of the steep descent into the village. Every other day the only vehicle in the village, a local jeepney, ferries people to the township for a small fee, making its return journey on alternate days. There are no roads in Tarlao itself. Anything that needs to be moved, from planks of wood chain-sawed off a felled tree, sacks of green beans gathered from the fields, bags of sand or cement, basins of clothes to be washed, all are carried on heads or backs along the stone steps and narrow paths that wind between houses and through people's yards. Electricity poles, cables and meter boxes were installed late in 2008, finally connecting the community to the grid. There doesn't appear to be a TV signal accessible from the village but DVDs are popular, attracting especially youngsters in the evenings to those homes with TVs. Some years previously, as a part of a Japanese funded aid project, a water-driven turbine installed at the river provided a weak and unreliable electric current during the evenings to most households and at minimal cost. When grid electricity became operational not all Tarlao households could afford to get connected. The poor and intermittent cell phone signal in the village was another problem which some people

managed to get around by dangling their cell phones on a wire strung up outside particular houses known to be favourably placed to receive text messages from other locations.

Tarlao has a government funded elementary school accommodating grades one to six. Class is mandatory and at no cost to families other than children's backpacks and classroom supplies. Children whose families can afford for them to continue their education beyond the elementary level do so at high schools in nearby towns or urban centres further away. Children as young as eight or nine also have other than their school work to contend with as they are expected to help out with any number of household chores such as fetching water and, for girls pounding and winnowing rice, as well as looking after younger siblings, and boys when a little older, taking a machete (*bolo*) out along the trails to gather firewood. All family members are expected to pitch in with seasonal planting and harvesting work. It is generally hoped that children who do get through high school and as far as college will with luck secure professional employment somewhere and be able to ease a few of the hardships of village life by providing their family financial support.

Tarlao residents also acknowledge in various ways a local spirit-world comprised of numerous types of spirits (*aran*), including malevolent spirits (*mīratoy*), other types of frightening spirits (*e'eria*), and the spirit-people taken to live in parts of the village alongside their human counterparts (*pira'ing*). Spirits, the sickness they cause, the sacrifice they require, and/or the practitioners who ritually engage with them are well documented for many Cordillera peoples in the classic Philippine literature (Barton, 1930, 1963; De Raedt, 1989, 1993, 1996; Dozier, 1966; Scott, 1969), as well as in more contemporary scholarly work (Aguilar, 1998; Cannel, 1999; Gibson, 1986; Rafael, 1988). Rural people's beliefs in indigenous spirits have also become a popular commodity in the Philippines and are depicted in numerous films and television programs (Mitchel and Mitchel, 2011). Local spirits figure prominently in Tarlao locals' culturally informed understanding of sickness and its ritual treatment, as does God. However, there was at times a certain ambiguity or lack of distinction as to which – spirits or God – might have been responsible for the manifestation of misfortune in a given instance. As such throughout the thesis I often use the descriptor 'transcendent Other' for situations where other than human agents were thought to be involved. Regardless, the local spirit-world is a significant feature of quotidian life through which people frame or otherwise come to terms with serious illness, injury and other ill fortune.

Tarlao village also supports three Christian churches – the nationally orchestrated Catholic and Anglican denominations, and an emergent indigenous form of Christianity that

combines spirit possession and healing practices (Ch IV). All Tarlao households are Christian, meaning that some or most family members are baptized, even though I estimate that only about ten percent of residents actually attend Sunday services. Roughly half the village have ties with the Catholic Church, and the rest with the Anglican Church, while some people from both denominations also attend the village's indigenous church, the Sunday mass time of which is co-ordinated so as not overlap the trans-local Christian services. For many, the importance of attending the Catholic and Anglican Sunday services is the favour from God and protection from illness and harm that is understood to come about in part through eating the 'little bread' or Eucharist the priest offers. These days the Catholic and Anglican ministers play a vital role at the close of typical three-day funerals, events of great cultural and religious importance for which the entire village attends.

As mentioned above, a central component of the ethnography, contributing in large part to my discussion on religious plurality, is a Christian gathering conducted on Sunday mornings in the village by a woman who is possessed of what locals understand to be the Holy Spirit sent by God. In her transformed state she is able to 'see' (*ila*) what we others cannot, and communicate with spirits and receive messages from God which she then relates to her congregation. While in trance she is also able to know events in advance of them happening (*pagtu*), and is understood to have intricate knowledge of the workings of the body and the ailments (*sakit*) that plague people. She is particularly renowned for curing persistent sickness or pain attributed to the workings of a transcendent Other and taken as spirit-world retribution for an individual's wrongdoings. The medicine (*acas*) she gives and the abilities she possess are understood to come ultimately from God. She has developed a strong following over the past two decades. In chapter IV I argue that her gathering is both a vernacularization of Christianity and a Christianization of traditional Kalinga healing practices. Local Christian church services, along with funerals and domestic animal sacrifice, are among the more prominent religious activity which I emphasize in the analysis, specifically in terms of prevalent local assertions linking moral wrongdoing to spirit-world retribution, of which ritual in various forms is required as reparation.

1.10 Fieldwork methods and the notion of *ugali*

The primary fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken from January to December 2008 (adding to an initial 3 months undertaken in 2005) in a Kalinga village which, to allow residents a degree of anonymity, I call Tarlao. Following convention and conscience I also use pseudonyms for informants where I thought necessary. Much of the data was gathered through semi-formal interviews, mostly in people's homes, with a few formal interviews that I recorded on camcorder, although these latter proved less informative. Some of the more

enlightening cultural information I gleaned in casual conversation after I had gotten to know individuals fairly well, or in impromptu interviews as the occasion presented itself, for instance at community meetings, social gatherings, or on jeepney rides to and from the village. Sessions were carried out in a mix of English and Kalinga and most often in collaboration with a local who would translate when the need arose. For the most part I treated such raw data as unsubstantiated until I could cross-reference it on many separate occasions with knowledgeable others.

Early on in my fieldwork I organized more formal interviews with the aid of Peter, a local Tarlao man and one of my principal informants and research assistants who also translated for me, particularly with older members of the village who spoke with what Peter referred to as 'deep dialect'. I arranged for him to give me Kalinga language lessons several times a week, which I requested be structured around particular topics relevant to my research interests – the Kalinga spirit-world, for instance, or common Kalinga ritual activity. I could not have chosen a more knowledgeable person for my initial research questions as Kalinga culture for Peter was a matter of pride and concern and he along with many others I spoke with were pleased that I took such an interest in their stories, encouraging me to document as much as I could. In fact many of the parents I met were openly critical of the fact that their own children and the younger generation in general were not particularly interested in traditional Kalinga culture. My questions also provided an opportunity for locals to speak of things important to them. In this way language instruction with Peter often segued into to culture lessons. I remunerated Peter for these formal lessons and the time he spent translating video footage of the vernacular mass, for example, but made sure he and others understood that participation in interviews and helping me better understand cultural practices to aid my research needed to be strictly on a voluntary basis.

Sundays are the one day in the week when almost everyone stays home from the rice fields and mountain gardens. As such Sundays became an important research day for me, starting with attending the vernacularized Christian mass and typically remaining for lunch with the family who organize the mass. Part of the value in social gatherings after such events, in sharing a meal or just spending time with people, was that it helped to build rapport, which was especially important to establish with families of key informants. Organizing an appropriate time to visit with people in their homes to verify or cross-reference details others had given me, or to ask them about what they considered important that I should learn about their culture and particularly their religious rituals, often provided the context for narratives that brought out personal experiences, or events particular to others in the community or relatives now deceased. Sketches of these narratives appear throughout the thesis, captured

as much as possible in the tone and manner of delivery that people used, and with a brief description of the setting in which the information was given. Ultimately though, being present during, for instance, a funeral wake, or a pig sacrifice, or seeing the blistering rash on someone's skin taken to be spirit-world punishment, grounded people's stories for me. The Kalinga term locals use to refer to their funeral customs, animal sacrifice and curative rituals for spirit-world attributed sickness is *ugali*, but the term also encompasses a wide array of accepted ways of doing things, both locally and newly introduced.

Conventional practices referred to as *ugali* include local or regional particularities like Kalinga gong-playing and dancing, and the tradition of matrilineal inheritance of rice terraces, as well as the local tendency for matrilocal residence. They also include normative practices like men's two-cup method of gin and water drinking at social gatherings, as well as hoisting the national flag and singing the Philippines anthem at local grade-six school graduation ceremonies. The term usually implies historical and continuing practices, or a usual way of doing things, but is not limited to the sense that any given custom is steeped in Kalinga tradition. *Ugali* could equally be applied to more contemporary lowland Filipino celebrations such as children's birthday get-togethers, or even attending Sunday mass and lining up to get a form of God's 'medicine' (Holy Communion). The way locals distinguish what they themselves do in comparison to what others elsewhere do is recalled in the Ilocano phrase *Sabali nga ili, sabali nga ugali* – different lands, different customs or ways of doing things. Of importance is the matter-of-factness that locals imply through the use of the term, which goes along with a tendency to state things without apparent prejudice and to generally accommodate if not unreservedly accept others' *ugali*.

While visiting with one of my neighbours in the village one morning I took up the threads of our previous conversation about the multiplicities of the Kalinga notion of *ugali*. In searching for a way to illustrate a point he was trying to make, Juan juttied his chin toward Fr Andrew as he walked across the concrete plaza from his church to the church residence where he and his family stayed from time to time. "You know the Catholic priest down in the township¹²," Juan began, "he has no family. But see the Anglican priest down there, Fr *pultak*," (meaning bald head – typically humorous but disrespectful in this instance; Juan is neither a church-goer nor has any reverence for clergy). "He has a wife and six children, that's his *ugali*." Put another way, being able to marry and raise a family was, as Juan

¹² One Catholic priest, based in the township, serves the municipality's many *barangays* and would infrequently visit the outstation mission chapels to serve mass. Each of the *barangays* that had a Catholic chapel had also a deacon or lay minister who substituted for the priest in all functions except administering the sacraments. During the service they would distribute pre-consecrated Eucharist brought up from the main church in the township.

understood it, the custom or common practice of Anglican ministers. Conversely, to take vows of celibacy as an obligatory requirement for ordination was in this case the *ugali* or commonly accepted practice of Catholic priests. Both were priests but both expressed different *ugali* pertaining to marriage according to the dictates of their particular priestly orders.

Ugali, then, approaches what we might take to be culture, or rather cultural or religious practice, inclusively local and trans-local, contemporary and historical. The dissoluble contradiction detailed in chapter V between traditional Kalinga and trans-local Christian concepts of the afterlife, made most apparent during funeral gatherings, is I suggest partially accounted for through people's inclusivity of others' *ugali*. I discuss this evaluative, but rarely divisive notion of *ugali* in terms of what locals refer to as 'old' (traditional) and 'new' (lowland, urban or foreign) *ugali* as an aspect of religious and cultural change in chapter VI. This brief mention of cultural and religious practices is included as a preface to the foundational discussions concerning the prevalent Kalinga cosmological axiom *pariyao/chusa/karu* – moral failings/spirit-world attributed retribution/reparatory ritual – of which I turn to next.

Chapter II

Pariyao, Christianity, and complementing and competing moralities



Kalinga jawbone gong-handle

In Tarlaos most people are convinced that whatever bad, wrongful or immoral action individuals take will one day come back to them, or to their families. Someone who is known to steal, for example, might find themselves the victim of theft in the future, or of some other form of misfortune such as crop reduction or failure, increase in pests, damage to property, persistent sickness, serious injury, or even the death of a family member. Or rather, such events and circumstances, when they occur, are typically interpreted as the result of the afflicted person's past actions, for which that person is now being punished. The term people use in Kalinga when referring to such shameful, offensive behaviour that individuals direct toward others is *pariyao*. This sort of unprovoked, wilful conduct is not only socially and morally reprehensible, but is also understood to bring about spirit-world attributed undesirable 'consequences'. In this way people's ill-intentioned actions, or *pariyao*, elicit reactions (*chusa*) from a transcendent Other (either God or local spirits) who is understood, among other things, to be concerned with people's moral states of affairs.

Moreover, for a number of generations now, dating back to the first Catholic mission school built in the village in the late 1930s, Tarlaos and its neighbouring *barangays* have been

situated in an emergent and composite religious landscape with residents having increasing exposure and access to Christian missionaries, doctrinal teachings and liturgical practice, among other things. As an informant of mine pointed out, before Christianity was introduced to the region Kalinga people were influenced by locally-held moral values, expressed then as they are now by negative contrast in the principles of *pariyao*. In other words, while *pariyao* refers to and defines acts of an immoral nature, such as theft or wilful injury inflicted on others, by implication people's criticism of these sorts of acts, or censure of those individuals who are deemed guilty, also delineates the opposite – a moral state of affairs. Through regularly curtailing others' ill-intentioned behaviour, in scolding offenders for over-stepping what is commonly accepted as moral relations and practices, Kalinga society achieves in theory a lessening of this sort of behaviour overall.

Part of my argument here and elsewhere in the thesis is that since Belgian missionaries first introduced Christianity to the region in the early 20th century¹³ the moral principles inherent in Christian teachings have not replaced Kalinga moral sensibilities referred to as *pariyao*, and neither has Christian cosmology as a whole replaced the extant array of Kalinga spirits, nor their influence on human affairs, nor even the ritual activity which affirms the nature and existence of the God and spirits in whose name the rituals are conducted. Both Christian and Kalinga moral orders co-occur, as do Christian and Kalinga liturgy or ritual activity, and their respective cosmologies and their ultimate divine referents – Apo Dios of the Ilocano Bible, and Kabunyan the Kalinga Creator deity of local mythology. Participation in the liturgy of the mass involves a profession of faith that includes such assertions as the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting of the soul in the hereafter. Such participation inherently evokes the moral authority of the Church, founded as this is on particular notions concerning the existence and power of Apo Dios and the Christian doctrine of the economy of salvation.

Conversely, the enactment of Kalinga ritual such as the butchering of domestic animals as a means of penalty and resolution for spirit-world intervention manifested as debilitating sickness, trauma, hardship or family crisis draws on a very different conceptual framework. Here the retribution of a transcendent Other bridges misfortune on the one hand, and the afflicted individual's moral failings on the other. Regardless, spirit-world punishment for wrongdoing manifests in the here and now in contrast to the hereafter of Christian salvation

¹³ Scott notes the introduction of Christianity by Catholic missionaries in eastern Kalinga by the 1920s (1969: 64). There had been missionary activity in regions near Tarlao as early as 1917, and in 1938 Rev. Fr. Francisco Billiet built a Catholic elementary school in Tarlao as well as in three nearby *barangays* (as noted in the commemorative booklet *Water Festival June 18, 1986*, published locally on the occasion of the opening of the Tarlao irrigation channel).

doctrine. While locals recognize that these ritual systems differ historically and culturally they participate in them equally for the most part. Correlated with this is the fact that almost all Tarlao locals when asked explicitly state that the Kalinga Creator deity of local mythology and the Christian divinity referred to in the Bible are one and the same.

The locally professed 'conflation of Gods' at one level and the acceptance of historically, doctrinally and cosmologically divergent ritual orders supportive of these Gods at another suggest that, insofar as they derive from religious principles, indigenous moral sensibilities and Church moral authority might likewise align without contradiction. However, as I try to show here, this is not always the case. At times particular action which locals would ordinarily consider *pariyao* or wrongful, becomes for many permitted, acceptable, and even something of a moral obligation. An example is violence committed as a means of avenging violence that has been inflicted on one's family. Below I explore an instance of brutal retaliation during an inter-village conflict years ago between Tarlao and another Kalinga group, an incident which many at the time did not consider an act of *pariyao*, but instead a warranted act of vengeance. Such conduct not only explicitly transgresses Christian teachings about sin but plainly contravenes State law on killing as well, and even now elicits disagreement and tension between village residents keen to distance themselves from the negative image associated with this sort of 'tribal' violence and identify more with the moral sensibilities of urban lowland society.

Much of what locals deem to be *pariyao*, articulated as this is with what they take to be correct, rightful conduct, coincides with Christian moral teachings. But a more encompassing view of locally understood moral and immoral acts, I suggest, needs to take into account locals' assertions concerning the workings of the spirit-world, to which Kalinga mythology is importantly tied. Implicit in traditional stories concerning the Kalinga deity Kabunyan is the notion that taking revenge on one's enemies is not a divinely punishable act, but tends to be something which is implicitly encouraged. Here I examine some of the elemental principles which influence much of Kalinga social life, arguing that because many (but not all) of these sorts of principles or assertions are seen to be similar between traditional Kalinga and trans-local Christian ritual systems – for instance, that God is watchful of human affairs, and will punish bad behaviour – many locals participate in both traditional practices (*ugali*) and Christian Sunday service without contradiction.

I further argue that similarity or agreement between some of these fundamental principles can lead to an expectation that all such principles correlate in a non-conflictual manner, an assumption which can overlook existing Kalinga principles of vengeance among other things.

Here I draw on aspects of Rappaport's (1999) work on sanctification in ritual and religion, specifically his inter-related propositions concerning people's postulates regarding God/spirits, and the cosmological relationships between the human and spirit worlds which Rappaport regards as axiomatic, as well as the ritual activity that among other things affirms these sorts of assertions. While Rappaport tends to present his model in more or less singular, internally coherent religious environments, I investigate its viability in the multi-religious, former colonial region of Kalinga. It is precisely the co-occurrence of traditional Kalinga and trans-local Christian liturgical orders, compatible at some levels, conflicting at others, in which the complexities of the principles of *pariyao* come to light.

In this chapter I begin with a discussion of locally understood moral authority as it pertains to ritual and religion, both Kalinga and Christian. I briefly contextualize *pariyao* alongside a set of social principles called *wain*, and then follow with an exploration of the moral paradox under consideration here: an analysis of some of the consonances and dissonances apparent when divergent ritual orders co-occur in the one place. Additionally I draw on John Barker's (2007) study of convergence in basic moral sensibilities, which Barker refers to as the 'moral orthodoxy', and situate this within Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) views on orthodoxy as defined against heterodoxy, or what Bourdieu calls 'competing possibles', showing how both of these perspectives complement Rappaport's (1999) approach to sanctification, ultimate postulates and cosmological axioms, as discussed in the opening chapter.

2.1 *Pariyao*: moral misconduct subject to divine retribution

Always wanting to verify information people had given me by later providing a suitable context for others to talk about the same topic, I had broached the general matter of *pariyao* with a friend of mine, Pabro, a local farmer, basket-weaver, and father of seven, hoping that he would offer to take me to see his aging father Ngawoy who lived on the far side of the village. I was most interested to hear the elderly man's thoughts on the subject but couldn't visit without an appropriate invitation. Perhaps curious to see that old Ngawoy had Pabro and me as visitors that morning, several other *lalakay* (respected older men) came out to join us where we were sitting in the open space between some of the houses. At one point during the meandering conversation about *pariyao* Ngawoy referred to people long since passed away and said, "the old men, our forefathers, told us do not steal from or kill our companions, because Kabunyan (God) is watching." Larao, another elder, and others there agreed, "Kabunyan is in the back (behind you, watching)." Here was the grounding local idiom of *chusa*, that doing to others what was generally understood to be wrongful had consequences, and these were brought about by forces other than human ones. Theft and

violence visited upon others, however, are only two of the more obvious examples of what people deem to be *pariyao*.

One hot mid-morning when my neighbour Juan was at home keeping an eye on his three-year-old he provided me with a compelling example of what he understood to be *pariyao*. That day as usual his older two boys had gone off to the elementary school on the other side of the village and his wife Maria had left for their mountain gardens. When I stopped by Juan had been hand-planing a pine plank for the rice granary he was building under contract for a family down in the township. As happened every now and then I had caught him in an irritable mood. He took a break and we sat for a while in the shade. I knew at times like these it was prudent to wait it out as he vented. A middle-aged woman under a wide-brimmed hat toiled at the weeds on the edge of her rice field a short distance away, and in a circuitous fashion Juan made her his target. He began by talking of local interest rates on loan repayments, how much of something one has to pay back on top of the amount initially given. This had been the subject of protracted discussion at a recent community development meeting where Juan and Maria are members. This village-based development organization charges its members 5% interest per month on micro loans. He then told me of a local business agreement known as '5-6', giving the example of having to repay six bundles of rice when you were initially loaned five (20% interest), and this discussion segued into his opinion of the difference in character of Tarlao people who loan money and rice like this. He said with disdain that turning a profit on grain or money was a new phenomenon, and that business-like lending, as opposed to the *achang* form of giving when you know others are in need, was creating disunity in the village.¹⁴

He then took his friend Enrique who lived nearby as an example and said here was a respected resident of the community who worked hard and had done well for himself, and what's more would lend you money if needed without interest. Juan linked this fellow's merits to the successful careers of his adult children – one was a teacher at the Tarlao elementary school, another was a seminarian in Manila, and the eldest son was an ordained Anglican minister and is married with a family. Then Juan pointed with his chin at the woman in the field below. She and her husband lend rice at 5-6, and she uses sticks and stones against neighbours' chickens if she catches them in her field. Some people suspect she even baits them with arsenic. After a pause he went on, telling me that this woman's teenage son had been born crippled and had been an invalid all his life. Clicking his tongue in a mix of disgust and satisfaction Juan summed up, "That's *pariyao*," or rather that's how *pariyao* works, and implying with it that that's God's punishment.

¹⁴ *Achang* (gifts), *utang* (debt), and alliance-building are discussed in Ch V, sect 5.6.

Perfecto, also a neighbour of mine, gave me another example of what he understood to be *pariyao*, but which might not easily be interpreted as bad behaviour or immoral conduct. One of the eight deaths in Tarlao over the course of the year was a woman who died in Bontoc hospital after a protracted battle with what Perfecto understood was a type of cancer. She left behind seven children, the youngest an infant boy not yet weaned. In Tarlao there is a particular *ugali*, or customary practices, whereby the oft-worn clothes and favourite items of a deceased person are enclosed in the coffin, if it can accommodate them. I've seen bulky items such as sweaters left aside which family members wanted to include in a burial but which didn't fit in the coffin. On the last day of the funeral of this particular mother, when the coffin had been carried out of the house and placed in the newly-made tomb, and people had gathered around for the priest's final prayers, a family member had placed a cardboard box of several of the deceased woman's dresses and belongings on top of the tomb, as if it too were being readied to be placed inside, to accompany the woman into the hereafter. But the tomb was cemented over without the box of clothes.

Perfecto later told me that some of the old women present at the funeral had said it was *pariyao* to entomb these clothes as the infant child would have been accustomed to the smell of the mother's clothes and the infant's spirit, it was thought, might have been in danger of following the scent into the tomb and joining the mother in death. As discussed in chapter V, funerals and the days immediately following are times when the deceased's spirit poses the greatest risk for the household, especially the children.¹⁵ Under ordinary circumstances, and Perfecto gave his father's burial as an example, it was customary (and best) to relinquish the deceased with his or her personal items, those which their spirit may otherwise later return. People are convinced that spirits pose a threat to the living by coming into contact with them. In the case of the mother who died of illness, her infant would have undoubtedly longed for her, and perhaps keeping the mother's favourite clothes around the house might have soothed him. But consequently it may have discouraged the mother's *achogwa* from peacefully leaving the house and the village and going on its way.¹⁶

On the one hand, interring the mother's clothes would have unnecessarily put the infant at risk. It was this that the old women considered *pariyao*. As observers at the funeral alluded to, the bereaved family had a moral obligation to protect the infant from danger, not the least

¹⁵ Mitchell and Mitchell, undertaking research in a peri-urban community in Visayan Philippines, make a similar observation concerning the susceptibility of children to contact with and harm from *enkanto*, a diverse category of spirits and supernatural entities (2011: 114).

¹⁶ The indeterminate nature of the non-manifest destination for spirits of the deceased (*achogwa*) is discussed more fully in Ch IV, sect 4.3.

of which was the longing grasp for the child of the deceased mother's *achogwa*. On the other, leaving the deceased's clothes in the house left open the possibility that her spirit may return home, possibly causing troubling dreams and sickness to family members, which in fact was what happened over the ensuing weeks. The traditional order of things was upended in this case in favour of discouraging the infant's spirit from separating from the living. To do otherwise would have been considered *pariyao*.

People's attitude toward *pariyao* can vary outside of the village, as I learnt when I spoke to Astrid and Rudy, the owners of a marketplace store in Tabuk specializing mostly in Kalinga weavings and wooden arts and crafts, but also in old artefacts like spears and head-axes. They both originally hailed from the central Kalinga town of Lubuagan, a centre for local blanket and *tapis* (women's skirts) weaving, and were curious about my research in Tarlao. When I asked, Astrid told me unhesitatingly "There is no more *pariyao*. A long time ago those old ones [elders] said don't throw dirt into water that people use to drink, and there was a certain sacredness [respect] to what they said. But these days people just throw their garbage anywhere because they see others doing it, and so feel justified doing it too. There is no *pariyao* anymore." For Astrid not only were people no longer respectful nowadays of the environment or of each other, but they no longer respected 'the old ones', or at least had little regard for their directives concerning ill-mannered and wrongful conduct. She spoke of people's current lack of conviction that transgressions such as carelessly polluting a water supply would bring about consequences from a transcendent Other. She included herself in this group, as she said she was not altogether convinced that God would punish people for littering or polluting, but that at one time this understanding held true for Kalinga people. At one time there was an accepted correspondence between an undesirable act and a subsequent other-worldly reaction to that act. Overall though, she spoke with dismay less of spirit-world punishment than of some people's ill-mannered and wanton ways.

Mario, a regular attender at the Anglican service, had on another occasion told me something similar to what old Ngawoy, Larao, and the other *lalakay* (elders) had said about *pariyao*. He had invited me to a meal at this daughter's new house, which he was proud to say he had built for her, and he was relaxed and in his element that night. When I asked him he explained, "I won't hurt you because it's *pariyao*, because there is a God." For Mario, generally speaking, such intentional acts which lead to people's injuries or death are wrongful, and there is a connection between such acts and future events or conditions of misfortune which are taken as God's punishment. Giving an example, Mario spoke in earnest of a man called Chumpa from the eastside of the village. This fellow had suffered great misfortune because of something terrible he had done. For reasons unknown he had

attacked an aunt of his with a *bolo* (machete) cutting her on the arm. Part all-purpose cutting and chopping blade, part weapon, a *bolo* is a ubiquitous accessory for hill-country farmers, typically carried in a wooden scabbard and worn hung from the belt. I had heard stories of how *bolos* were once used in inter-village combat and it is not difficult to imagine the damage one could inflict with one. Although the details were vague, according Mario this man's wife and many of his children and the man himself had died, sometime after the attack on the aunt. He emphasized that this was a true story of *pariyao*, of terrible deeds and the other-worldly retribution it provoked. He later added that God will punish a person for *pariyao* in the next life with inferno. His position, while not inconsistent with Catholic and Anglican doctrine, was one which diverged from most other interpretations of the consequences of people's immoral actions. For most locals, who virtually all identify as Christian, Apo Dios's punishment, like other spirit-world retribution, manifests itself in the present life, not in the afterlife.¹⁷

As mentioned above, while the notion of *pariyao* circumscribes conduct considered sinful or immoral, it implicitly also speaks to the opposite by placing value on action deemed acceptable and ethical. As such *pariyao* becomes an important Kalinga cultural element, and along with two others – *wain* and *ngelin* – is locally referred to as one of the 'Kalinga Three Commandments'. Broadly, these Commandments refer to the sorts of stipulations and interdictions which concern action or conduct locals identify as undesirable, shameful or harmful. Arguably by avoiding or refraining from such conduct people concomitantly help shape for themselves a more salubrious and harmonious society. For instance *ngelin* constitute locally held avoidance practices, the breach of which is understood to bring about over time certain undesirable characteristics in people, particularly weakness variously construed. In connecting such practices to adverse circumstances locals emphasize the states of affairs which they consider unwelcome and which they, needless to say, endeavour to avoid. *Wain*, similarly, draws out the social values of respect, propriety and etiquette implicit in stipulations concerning disrespectful and discourteous behaviour. While residents regard *ngelin* as unconnected to the workings of God or spirits, *wain* is supported by local mythology, and as such is compatible with the sorts of broader understandings relevant to Kalinga ritual and religion presented in this chapter. The following is a brief description of *wain* social sensibilities.

¹⁷ Cannell (1999) and Rafael (1988) both note the relative unimportance of the concept of heaven and hell in Philippines, as discussed in Ch IV, sect 4.3.

2.2 *Wain*, negatively expressed social values, and Kalinga mythology

Important social values by which Kalinga people generally abide – including respect, deference, courtesy and obedience – are defined in negative contrast by *wain*, stipulations concerning how people should not act. From what I had seen in the community children are commonly taught to be respectful of parents and grandparents, expected to be dutiful and obedient to them, and generally encouraged to be considerate and helpful to aged folk, to offer to carry their heavy bags, and so forth. Hospitality and common courtesy is typically extended to guests who come to visit. Overlooking or withholding such consideration is looked down upon as the sort of socially discreditable or shameful behaviour taken to be *wain*. For instance, whenever Perfecto and Lourdes's boisterous young boy, Chara'an, pestered or clambered all over me when I came to visit, Perfecto, ever swift to discipline his sons, would bark "Chara'an, *mawain-a!*" (Chara'an, it's bad/shameful for you to do that!). On more than one occasion the youngster received a smart tweak to the ear, as it was clear his father wanted at least some decorum in the house when guests showed up, even a frequent and (by that late stage of my residency in the village) ordinary guest like myself.

Peter, one of my primary informants, together with several others on occasion have complained to me about what little they can do these days about 'out of school youth' who loaf about the place without making themselves useful by contributing around the house or joining other family members in working the hill-side gardens. He saw their lackadaisical attitude as a form of disrespect, *wain*. One disgruntled father of teenage boys whom I spoke with down in the lowlands around the provincial capital complained of how increasingly, in the middle of the night, he has had to chase off ill-intentioned youth who sneak into his yard trying to steal his chickens. He also spoke of the growing spate of fights in the local school yards and blamed this on the violence children are exposed to through television, DVDs and in video game parlours. Much of this Peter was convinced could be averted if people adhered more closely to *wain* and *pariyao*. Pabro, a regular congregant at St Dominic's on the village's westside, told me once that God will reward a person with one more year of life if he or she lived according to *wain*.

The notion of *wain*, moreover, can be found as morals in Kalinga origin myths and vernacularized Bible stories, such as this one Perfecto told me one rainless afternoon as he planed the back of the wooden chair he was making. His modest strip of front yard was strewn with wood chips and sawdust. There's a striking panorama from Perfecto's yard that takes in fold after fold of the encompassing blue hills. As he worked and we chatted I pulled out my notebook and biro and asked if there were any more stories he could remember about Kabunyan (the Kalinga Creator Being) and the old days of Tarlao. With curls of pine coming

off his wood chisel Perfecto smiled and told me instead of the time Joseph, Mary and her newborn were fleeing King Herod and his soldiers at Bethlehem. The young family were following a foot-trail over the hills to a place called Egypt. On the way they came across two women working in adjacent *uma*, or mountain gardens. Joseph, curious, stopped to ask them what they were planting.

The first woman affably said she was planting mongo beans; the second woman, for some reason annoyed or irritated, said curtly that she was planting stones. Taken aback, Joseph retorted that if you plant stones then you'll reap stones. Perfecto offered a knowing grin and told me that even now when we cook mongo beans, even for a long time, some will still be hard like stones. The story goes on to outline how the first woman's seedlings began to mature in only a few days. When soldiers approached the woman asking if she'd seen a young couple and a baby pass that way, the woman truthfully replied yes, when she was planting the mongo beans that she was now picking. Assuming that she must have planted months ago, the soldiers left. And so, Perfecto finished with a flourish, Joseph and Mary escaped. Contextualized through familiar swidden farming scenes, Perfecto's rendition of part of the Christian Nativity played out along a local didactic refrain, with one of the two farmers being rewarded for her courteous conduct while the other rebuked for being brusque toward visitors, for behaviour typically considered *wain*.

There are also several traditional stories that locals tell concerning Kabunyan who assuming the physical form and dress of ordinary Kalinga people came to instruct and help people. One story Peter told me was how Kabunyan, in the form of a woman, but with only one breast, visited a Kalinga village somewhere to the north (these stories are set in a Kalinga past when men only wore *wa'er* or lower body garments, and women only wore *tapis* or woven cotton wrap-around skirts). The people of this village happened to be celebrating an occasion and Kabunyan, attracted to the lively sounds of singing and gong playing, stopped to watch. After a while some of the women noticed this stranger standing with them and good naturedly invited her up to dance with them. Kabunyan happily joined a line of women, arms outstretched to the side lithely bobbing from one foot to the other as they danced to the music of the gongs. But some people noticed that this woman was somewhat odd looking, and laughed at her. One even approached and squeezed her breast and people laughed even more. Humiliated, Kabunyan left without bestowing favour and never returned there again.

Another Kabunyan tale I had heard a few times begins with Kabunyan going to Wharatao village where he marries and lives with a local woman. Once again, no one suspected it was Kabunyan. This village is situated near a turbulent stretch of river which people take risks in

crossing as there was no bridge. Locals often complained of the hardship and danger, and one morning Kabunyan told his wife that he was going out to work but that she was forbidden to follow to see where he was going. She complied, and Kabunyan left for the day, returning at dusk tired and hungry. The next morning he gave the same instruction and left, returning at day's end tired and hungry (repetition is a key feature in Kalinga story telling). When he left the third day, the woman, by this stage insanely curious, followed her husband to see what he was doing. She hid behind some boulders near the river and was astounded to see the rising foundations of a massive stone bridge, and Kabunyan bent over with outstretched arms and legs and even grossly elongated penis all working furiously together to smooth the stonework of the bridge. The wife gasped in astonishment, and Kabunyan, very angry that she had seen him, berated her, broke down the bridge, and left, never returning. No one animates this story better than Perfecto, who had us in stitches when he demonstrated the punch-line bent over with both arms and alternating legs rotating in small circles. Peter later said that that's why to this day you can see so many huge stones strewn in that one part of the river near that village. An inherent theme in the tale is that disobedient behaviour, also understood as a form of *wain*, in the long run will not turn out well for people.

Wain as evidenced here is decidedly bound up in Kalinga mythology, and as such assumes an important secondary role in connecting ritual cycles or liturgical orders to the sorts of postulates concerning an ultimate sanctifying entity, or God, as outlined in Rappaport's (1999) theory of sanctification and detailed in the opening chapter. While Rappaport does not explicitly include the types of standards people call social values in his discussion, he concedes that such values may be implicit. Giving an example from the PNG group with whom he worked, Rappaport notes that in Maring society people place high value on unity or integrity and that this is implicit in their ritual cycle. Reciprocity, in addition, is one of their implicit principles or self-evident truths wherein all "assistance must be reciprocated, all trespasses compensated or avenged," (1999: 264). Hence for Maring the "negative value placed upon the failure to fulfill reciprocal obligations follows from the assumption that reciprocity is fundamental to cosmic structure. Given this assumption, lapses in reciprocity are violations of the order constituting the world," (*ibid.*). For Kalinga in the case of *wain*, the disapproval of impropriety or discourteous behaviour follows from the notion that respectful behaviour, valued by Kabunyan, is basic to the social order of things.

2.3 *Pariyao* and inter-village conflict

In Tarlao when a *bodong*¹⁸ (peace-pact) has been broken, the sort of action undertaken from a position of protecting family, community and territory, including attacking if threatened, shooting back if shot at, and seeking revenge for the injury or death of a family member, is generally not considered *pariyao*. It is, however, contested by the Anglican and Catholic Churches and their representatives in the village. In such cases there are, moreover, locally understood limits as to who can reasonably be targeted in an attack. Mario in conversation with me about the sorts of things that constitute *pariyao* unhesitatingly included harming women and children in inter-village conflict or delayed acts of revenge. This he emphasized, and others confirmed, was something people should never do. Significantly though, the principles of vengeance are implicitly situated among the sort of assertions through which locals comprehend the nature of the Kalinga cosmos. As detailed in the opening chapter and below, these are the type of elemental assertions that Rappaport in his general theory of sanctification calls 'cosmological axioms' (1999: 263). These principles, moreover, find their expression through local mythology. The following traditional story provides important context for connecting the human drama of warfare, to notions of moral authority, to elemental principles from which the rules and proprieties of society are drawn.

Kabunyan the Kalinga God, as mentioned above, often came to Tarlao village in the early days manifest in human form to guide and instruct men and women in important tasks and skills with which they would need to carve out a appropriate life for themselves despite the harsh terrain, the challenging social environment, and the unpredictable and at times dangerous spirit-world. In one story Kabunyan was angered to see a group of Tarlao men setting off noisily, amateurishly, on a revenge raid to a distant village. When they broke for camp in the woods and were building a fire for their meal, Kabunyan placed a poisonous *aveling* tree nearby, the branches of which the men unwittingly broke off and used as firewood. The smoke from the burning branches inflicted the party with a form of debilitating sickness. Kabunyan came forward and chastised the group for being so casual and careless in their task, teaching them instead how to steel themselves for the event and how to use stealth when approaching an enemy village. This, Peter told me, was not divinely sanctioned licence to kill or behead, but simply advice that if you're going to attack your enemies you must know how to go about it correctly or you yourself will perish. The

¹⁸ The Kalinga peace-pact institution, or *bodong*, is a complex system of laws, or *pagta*, which are brokered by neutral, conflict resolution mediators and representatives from opposing communities in multi-day ceremonies involving the slaughtering of many *carabao* and the exchanging of gifts between leaders, like baskets and *bolos* (machetes), in an endeavour to maintain peaceful relations between regions. Each village (*ili*) has a peace-pact with virtually every other village in the vicinity to allow safe travel and trade etc, in a region historically known for inter-village violence, vengeance and, in the past, headhunting. See also Barton, 1949: 174-208; De Raedt, 1993: 26-32; Dozier, 1966: 212-35; Goda, 1999: 23-44; Picpican, 2008: 119-121; Suguiyao, 1990: 47-79.

Kabunyan of Kalinga cosmology was after all a caring God, willing to help people having difficulty with important tasks. Of note here, if Kabunyan does not explicitly sanction revenge killing, he does not oppose it either.

Below I present a montage of people's accounts of a particular revenge killing episode from a long-drawn out and bitter inter-village conflict which occurred in the early 1980s between Tarlao and a distant village, where one of the fatalities was a Tarlao child, and where the assailant was subsequently caught and brutally dealt with. In retrospect, a quarter century later, still with dreadful memories of that time, some Tarlao locals now look back on that episode with mixed feelings, particularly in regard to what action they deem was *pariyao* and what was not. In focusing on this incident I draw out elements of the contradiction and the tension it reveals between a firm Christian moral stance on the taking of human life – supported as it is by various non-religious institutions such as State law, popular media, and a public discourse highlighting a rural/urban cultural divide – and the moral perspective of Tarlao locals operating according to principles of *pariyao*. Some of the latter are affirmed in Kalinga mythology, shaped and perpetuated through principles of reciprocity of revenge and, to a lesser extent, even reflected in the types of Filipino action/revenge DVDs (popular in the village) where the hero invariably avenges wrongs done to loved ones by taking justice into his own hands.

Situated about eight kilometres from Tarlao, Wharatao is a Kalinga village on the other side of a forested plateau and over the mountain ranges beyond. There was a period in the early 1980s when the peace-pact (*bodong*) between Tarlao and Wharatao was broken. A single act of aggression resulting in death or near death is enough to trigger 'tribal war'¹⁹ between two villages. The resulting inter-village conflict is not restricted to the families of the assailants and victims, although it is with them that cycles of revenge over the years will ultimately play out. Without a *bodong* in place, and with blood recently spilled, residents from either side, whether within the village boundary or caught outside, become potential targets for violence and counter-violence. This also extends to people from the opposing villages who may have migrated and settled around the provincial capital, Tabuk. Even travel along major roads that pass close by the warring villages becomes dangerous for ordinary residents of either side. Meanwhile the *bodong*-holders²⁰ from both sides together with neutral arbitrators from

¹⁹ 'Tribal war' tends to be limited to sniper attacks and small group ambush, as well as occasional shootings in the capital Tabuk between members of the warring factions.

²⁰ A member of the village, usually a respected person skilled at oratory and negotiation, will be appointed as *bodong*-holder and be responsible for, e.g., the safety of visitors from the village with which the *bodong* is held. The opposite village will have a counterpart *bodong*-holder. As all Kalinga villages maintain a network of *bodongs* with their immediate neighbours within the municipality, there can be many *bodong*-holders in a community.

other communities are called upon to negotiate the dispute and settle on an adequate recompense for the grieving party. Peace-pact negotiations can take weeks, but are eventually sealed with elaborate, days-long *bodong* celebrations which include feasting, dancing and gift-giving to leaders of both communities. In the meantime, however, farmers who need to venture out to their rice-terraces or mountain-gardens do so cautiously in groups and with armed men from the village. Over the two or more years that this particularly bitter conflict remained unresolved many deaths accrued, and while many Tarlao residents who remember the events are still pained to speak of them, some gave me their accounts.

Tarlao and its closest neighbouring village, Chargao – with which it had peaceful relations at the time – face each other across a wide and steep river valley. From Chargao foot-trails lead across the steep terrain to further villages, and eventually down to the main road and the township. It was from this other side of this valley, high on the slope not far from Chargao, that about five Wharatao youth hid in the tall grass and scrub and fired upon a group of Tarlao school children. The children had come down the trail to the river from the Tarlao side to collect stick-grass (*siripat*) for a grade-three school project – some of these kids were classmates of Perfecto's wife Lourdes, who added those details of the story for me. Men in this region, those who can afford the extraordinary costs involved, have ready access to both ex-military and locally produced firearms, and assaults on enemies, as far as I have been told, often amount to an exchange of hit-and-run sniper fire. One of the youth among the Wharatao group that day had a rifle with a spotting scope and he shot one of the children in the back. Any round fired in that valley echoes unmistakably in all directions. By the time the children had run back in a panic telling what had happened Tarlao was already in an uproar. The Wharatao youths fled in two directions. The sniper and another assailant attempted to scramble uphill on to the plateau (a significant distance over difficult terrain), while the other three escaped out of sight along rice terraces and likely overland down to the main road. Enraged, Tarlao men grabbed guns and *bolos* and bolted after the two they could still see.

One man reported that amidst the unfolding chaos at the time some of the *lalakay* or old men had cried out that *e'eria* (spirits who are understood to live in or near the village) were joining in the chase, giving the men speed and helping them in the fight. Perfecto later told me something different, that it was with Apo Dios's help – who many locals say favours and protects Tarlao people – that the Tarlao group so swiftly descended the valley, crossed the river and caught up to the enemy, who had by that stage a considerable head start being already more than halfway up the opposite slope. Juan had told me on another occasion that

in warfare the Kalinga attitude toward an enemy who has been subdued or caught at a disadvantage is to show no mercy. That day Perfecto had also joined in the chase with his prized WWII rifle, as back-up he said, to give the others support. He didn't take part in the shooting because, as he told me matter-of-factly, "No, to kill is a big sin". As men got within range and opened fire one of the assailants was hit in the buttocks but, not being the primary object of the chase, was allowed to escape.

Tarlao men in the vanguard, furious, caught up to the sniper who, badly outnumbered, surrendered. He emerged with hands raised from where he was dug in on the upper slope and Garcia shot him dead. The Tarlao group descended on the body with their *bolos*, hacking until there was little left that was recognizable. Juan told me coldly that at times like these "there is no more Apo Dios", that that scene of carnage was no place for God or Christian moral authority. There and then the group went about exacting revenge and pouring out their anger, their outrage over the dead child. Perfecto, who had remained back on the Tarlao side on the valley, said he saw the men returning carrying the severed head, legs and hands of the massacred sniper. It is not uncommon for members of a neutral village to carry the body of someone killed and fallen within an enemy territory to the boundary of the victim's village for his family to retrieve and bury. I was told that men from Tarlao's neighbouring village, Chargao, did this with the Wharatao sniper's remains, carrying the decapitated body in a sack, likely strung up to ends of a bamboo pole the way people there do with one-pole blanket stretchers for carrying the sick. While there have been further conflicts with other villages since, as far as I know this was the last instance of head-taking in Tarlao.

The counter-attack on the Wharatao group, both swift and brutal, sent an unambiguous message back to the opposing village and others reaffirming the fierceness of Tarlao men. It was also an affirmation for some Tarlao locals that Apo Dios was on their side, not the enemy's, and had facilitated Tarlao's revenge on that day. That God favours Tarlao people is a sentiment I had heard from Tarlao locals on more than a few occasions. One occasion was the six-week period of inter-village conflict in 2008, during my fieldwork, when the *bodong* between Tarlao and a not too distant *barangay* had been broken because a few rash Tarlao youth bent on settling an outstanding score had with stealth and from behind approached a farmer from a neighbouring village who was sitting by a field and blasted at him with (most likely) a short-barrel firearm, and ran. In this region men tend to use nine-pellet buckshot for hunting deer and wild pig. In this instance all nine pellets sprayed wildly and missed the farmer altogether. But it was enough to start war. There were two fatalities over that six-week period, both victims from the other village, and both instances where gunmen from the other village mistook their own men for Tarlao men (something that also happened as

recently as early 2010 in a conflict between Tarlao and yet another neighbouring village, this one to the south). At dusk that day when news of the second death was making the rounds in Tarlao, Pabro and I fell silent in contemplation looking out over the village from his front yard. He told me not to worry, it was Apo Dios who had temporarily changed the appearance of those two men so that they looked like Tarlao men from a distance, and so fooled the enemy shooters. "This is how Apo Dios looks after Tarlao people," he smiled.

Attacks on the community, moreover, need not necessarily be directed toward individuals. They could equally consist of an 'attack' in various ways on the village's rice fields or even the water used for irrigating the terraces. There is an on-going point of contention between Tarlao and neighbouring villages over a government supported, foreign bid to undertake geo-thermal energy exploration in a region of the hill country which includes a part of Tarlao ancestral domain, and overlaps with ancestral domains of two other Kalinga municipalities.²¹ Most Tarlao residents, having over the years heard the rhetoric from company and government officials, are vociferously opposed to the project because of what they feel is a very real concern over the potential contaminated run-off that would feed into Tarlao's irrigation water. The concern is for the rice, the protection of which for some Tarlao locals would readily include taking up arms. One morning a helicopter landed at one of the villages in concern, Chargao. It was only the second time I had heard one that year.²² The percussive sound of the rotor that morning echoed unmistakably in the otherwise natural quiet of the valley and caught everyone's attention on the Tarlao side, fuelling rumours that Chargao residents were re-opening geo-thermal discussions.

One Tarlao man unhesitatingly told me that if Chargao were to sign an agreement in favour of the exploration he would go out and buy a gun. He calculated how many pesos he had already, which of his belongings he might need to sell off, and how much in addition he would need to earn to get a firearm. The way this fellow was talking, using a gun against someone under such 'justified' circumstances would not be considered *pariyao* – despite what this same man had told me on another occasion that to kill is *pariyao* and punishable by God. What seems like a double standard regarding the sorts of violent acts taken to be *pariyao* becomes clearer in light of Kalinga origin stories concerning Kabunyan and the creation of the Kalinga mountains, the first people (Tarlao people), and the first village (Tarlao village). All of these elements help forge the underlying sense that for Tarlao residents their ancestral domain has been theirs since time immemorial, and is theirs by divine right. That this fellow would take up arms to defend threats to Tarlao land, water or

²¹ Sourced from on-line news service *Northern Dispatch (Nordis) Weekly*, accessed November 13, 2011, <http://www.nordis.net/?p=3217>

²² Military helicopters occasionally sweep the surrounding valleys looking for marijuana plantations.

rice fields strongly speaks to his sense of right and wrong. In the following brief descriptive section I provide additional aspects of Kalinga culture to help contextualize locally sanctioned revenge practices.

2.4 Gongs and tattoos as visible traces of violence

Whereas head-taking in Tarlao may well be (relatively recently) a discontinued practice, 'tribal conflict' and revenge killings, albeit not a frequent occurrence, have not died out. There have been at least two inter-village conflicts involving Tarlao since my fieldwork period, one in 2009 and the other in 2010. In fact over time I had learned that most Tarlao men had participated in violent acts including inter-village conflict at some point in their lives, something that almost all were reticent to speak about. For most men these acts of past violence are evidenced by the tattoos they carry. These are not the traditional symmetric full chest and arm tattoos (*binakuko* and *binulibud*) of an older generation of Kalinga warriors of which Salvador-Amores tends to write (2002), but an assortment of more contemporary motifs which can nonetheless denote an act of violence commemorated by the tattoo wearer. Garcia himself sports a contemporary floral design among other motifs on his shoulder.

One Tarlao man's inked eagle with outstretched wings, another's simple shoulder illustration of a woman's head, Ruel's large image of a woman's face on his thigh, the faded design on Gilberto's left shoulder, and the San Miguel brewery 'Angel and Devil' logo inked into Xavier's chest all have various events of violence attached to them. While some Tarlao men's tattoos might show allegiance to the New People's Army (NPA), a locally popular rebel faction known to have, or who have had, strongholds in the Kalinga mountain region, others are visible signifiers of past revenge killings. Men sometimes acquire these tattoos in penitentiaries like the one in the urban lowlands northeast of Tabuk. Perfecto, who chose not to get tattoos, simply referred to the time he had spent in prison as a reckless young man, as a time of rest from farming when men learn a trade like woodworking. Ruel's markings indelibly connect him to the hold-up of a priest along a road decades ago when Ruel was reportedly a volatile young man, a far cry from the good-natured, bespectacled grandfather he is now. And I was told Eduardo's and Gilberto's tattoos come out of participation in successful inter-village conflicts, even if they didn't actually do the shooting. Eduardo, shirtless one afternoon at home weaving a winnowing basket, smiled with embarrassment as I drew attention to his tattoo in jest. He had it etched into his skin (traditionally men's and women's tattoos were created with a thorn and soot) as a young man and I'm certain he would now have it removed if he could.

Bruno, the one man in the village rightfully entitled to have a torso full of tattoos, is also clean of them by choice, or rather, strategy. He told me that years ago Kalinga men looking for work at the Batong Buhay gold mines, Pasil, central Kalinga, were asked to remove their shirts for the interview and were turned away if they had tattoos. The mine operators associated Kalinga tattoos with violent crime and refused to hire men who they suspected could cause them trouble. But in Bruno's opinion a man's bravery and prowess aren't necessarily reflected in his tattoos. He himself doesn't need tattoos to engender fear in others; his reputation is enough. So while the older style of Kalinga chest tattoos in past years signified that its wearer was a head-taker (*mehor*, warrior), the more modern tattoo designs men now wear are still associated with violence and revenge (*ming'or*, intentionally going out to kill), if not head-taking *per se*. These days tattoos are becoming popular with a younger generation of Kalinga youth. Perfecto was not amused when his teenage son returned home for the holidays from his boarding high-school in Bontoc with an anagram of the youth gang which he had gotten involved with tattooed on his shoulder. Youth from many different Kalinga villages attend high school or college in Bontoc, and the alarming reports I heard from Perfecto and Lourdes of large scale after-school fights in some respects resembled 'tribal war' writ small. For Perfecto, from his Christian perspective – and reflective of the debate concerning what are and what are not deemed acts of *pariyao* – it was clear, "tattoos are a mark of sin".

There is another way in which violent acts, specifically head-taking, are readily visible and indirectly commemorated, and that involves pieces of the head itself. I had heard about Garcia's set of beaten brass gongs and the pieces of human bone (about 2 inches square, cut from the sniper's skull) used as end stoppers for the rope handles long before I actually saw them. Brass gongs are highly prized possessions and of tremendous value. Peter has an old and badly cracked gong hanging on the wall of his thatched cooking hut. When I asked about it he told me it belonged to his grandfather and that he would never part with it. Normally six to eight gongs comprise a set, and for large gatherings two sets from different owners might be combined so that more people can play and dance.

Gongs (*gangsá*) are about 12 to 14 inches in diameter with about a one inch lip, are held in one hand by a short rope loop, and struck with a short stout stick. I understand that very few families own gongs. In fact over the year I had only seen two or three sets brought out for special occasions, such as the three day peace-pact (*bodong*) celebration formally ending six weeks of conflict between Tarlaq and a not too distant village. Another occasion was an elaborate church wedding involving a well-to-do local family, and later in the year the official inauguration of Tarlaq's connection to the provincial electricity grid. Unfortunately there

were no gongs played at the community feast which I hosted as a gesture of gratitude and farewell at the end of my fieldwork stay, as there had been two funerals around that time and many people reminded me that gong playing at my fiesta (*dispedida*) would be disrespectful to the bereaved families. As a compromise, and a quieter option (gongs when struck can be heard clear across the village), men often replace the brass gongs with resonating bamboo tubes (*wangewang*) struck on the palm of the hand.

Gong players skilfully blend two or three syncopated rhythms as they shuffle in procession following a leader around in an arc. Women are quick to join in, dancing in lithe bobbing motions with hands on hips or outstretched, reacting effortlessly to the sudden surging forwards and backwards of the gong players. While men dress more casually for the occasion, it would not be uncommon to see some of the older women dress up with white blouses and traditional Kalinga red and black woven-cotton skirts (*ginamat*). The dance which brings the wildest laughs from on-lookers is one in which women participants form a line next to the gong players, each taking a handful of a gong player's hair and dragging the line of men to one side then back again. Each dance lasts only a few minutes, and participants are quick to disperse leaving gongs and sticks in the middle of the dance area for the next group. On the first of many occasions at which I was called up to play (*patung*) the gongs, I was good-naturedly chastised for not removing my hat for the dance, for not respecting the *gangsa*. One day one of Perfecto's impish boys had us all laughing as he mimicked his father's gong skills with an impromptu dance on the family's kitchen floor using a tin plate and metal spoon. It would be years before the young lad would be old enough to be allowed to take up a brass gong and stick at a village celebration.

At gatherings where a *bodong* is being negotiated, when men from both sides have stood up and presented their grievances in lengthy commanding oratories (a respected skill among Kalinga leaders, as it is among Ilongot men²³) and the *pagta* or rules governing the *bodong* have been agreed upon by both sides, the celebrations begin. This is usually by about the third day. The representatives from the invited village are hosted in a village-wide fiesta, and some weeks later the opposite village reciprocates. The host village customarily slaughters a water buffalo (*carabao*) and groups of friends and neighbours get up to *patung* and dance. The year that the Wharatao party, including relatives of the Wharatao youth who had been killed in the attack, were invited to Tarlao, I was told that Garcia's gongs were used. For a

²³ Renato Rosaldo (1980) describes how Ilongot men, as they mature from adolescence and gain in physical stamina, experience and knowledge, reach their prime of productivity and influence. One of the refined accomplishments a man may achieve is oratory skills. "A noted orator whose speech is forceful in its persuasive power and subtle in its elaborate tropes may come to achieve influence and reputation beyond his local cluster," (1980: 146).

long time it had seemed to me that the classic image of a Kalinga gong was one with a human jawbone for a handle, and in fact I had seen and photographed a few. Garcia's set, however, didn't have one. When I asked about this I was told that, yes, there had been one but it had coincidentally disappeared after the *bodong* celebration when the Wharatao visitors took their leave to go back home.

2.5 A head-taker's moral dilemma

Returning to that day of head-taking and mutilation, and Juan's sentiment that that scene of carnage was no place for religion or God, Fr. Andrew, in a sour mood (unusual for him) on the balcony of his lodgings after one Sunday service, made virtually the opposite comment to Juan's when referring to Kalinga 'tribal war'. This was during the time in 2008 when, as mentioned above, peaceful relations had broken off between Tarlao and a not too distant village, a time when Fr. Andrew had taken to tying a piece of white cloth to a long stick mounted on his backpack whenever he, his wife and kids had to walk the then dangerous stretch of road down to the township. Nelson the Tarlao jeepney driver had sensibly suspended his transportation service during those six weeks of war. A rattly old blue jeepney full of Tarlao passengers grinding downhill through the valley in second gear was far too exposed a target for enemy snipers and wasn't worth the risk.

Fr. Andrew, who is not a Tarlao local but from a town in Mt Province, to the south of Kalinga, was at a loss to understand Tarlao people's behaviour. He said when he was first assigned to the village a few years ago he estimated that Tarlao was about 90% Christian (Anglican and Catholic), but now he's not so sure. He said in his hometown the authorities take care of problems like this conflict. "Sure, if someone boxes you, you box them back. But it shouldn't affect the whole community like this. Here people are so proud of their peace-pact [sarcastic tone], but they forget they are Christians. With this tribal conflict they revert back to their old ways, revenge killing. Leave it to God!" For Fr. Andrew it was vital that people do not retaliate. Let God mete out punishment, *chusa*, not people. When people take revenge into their own hands they are only committing further sin.

On a related matter, Tarlao people for the most part tend to avoid confrontation with each other and go to great lengths to avoid tension escalating to violence between households. As such, retaliation from an offended person or their family tends to be verbal for the most part. Cycles of intra-village vengeance would be unthinkable in highland *barangays* – it would be next to impossible to maintain any kind of community harmony. Under these circumstances it would not be unreasonable to imagine that retribution delivered from a transcendent Other in the form of debilitating sickness might substitute for social forms of retribution, of

penalties from within the community, or policing from external authorities, of which there tends to be very little.²⁴ But for Juan and others violence and its reprisal were neither a matter for Provincial authorities, who seem to have little if any jurisdiction up into the more remote valleys, nor for God or the Church – they were a matter for those most affected, locals themselves. Here, in an obvious departure from Church moral authority, locals abide by their own sense of what is right, wrong and just, understandings of which, as I will address below, reflect significantly different cosmological assertions about the nature of the world.

Looking back on the Wharatao episode now, locals willing to speak about it say it was a dreadful thing, that the hostility and tragedy on both sides were terrible and regrettable. Yet few I spoke to were inclined to say that the Tarlao men were wrong to chase down and shoot the assailant, or that doing so was an act of *pariyao*. Where people differed, however, was how they assessed the events immediately following the shooting. Some were convinced that mutilating the Wharatao youth like that was in fact *pariyao* and that spirit-world retribution might well be visited even upon the descendants of those responsible. Juan and his wife Maria discussed the matter with me. One night the three of us were sitting on low stools in the glow of cooking-fire embers in their tiny smoke-blackened kitchen while their two dogs obediently waited outside for our dinner scraps. The head-taking incident was still a sombre topic, and they spoke in lowered voices. Juan wanted to clarify for me a difference in the retaliatory action taken on that day; first Garcia's gunshot that killed the sniper, and second the subsequent butchering of the corpse and the taking of trophy limbs. Juan's position was that the kill was justified considering the attack on the village, that it was a period of war between the two villages, and even if the attackers had escaped revenge would catch up with them one day.²⁵ But he was at pains to point out that even in Kalinga warfare there was an unspoken understanding about who and who were not eligible targets. Children on both sides were categorically excluded. That was the outrage, and for many the justification for the extent of the reprisal. While in front of Maria that night Juan did not condone the subsequent mutilation of the assailant's body, he didn't exactly condemn it either. He was simply firm regarding what he saw as the compulsion or the necessity to retaliate. Maria on

²⁴ While there is no police representative in Tarlao or surrounding *barangays* there is a local police unit located at the municipal buildings in the township but their presence and actual power is limited. Locals inform me that no policeman would risk his safety entering hill country *barangays* even in the course of duty. An incident which occurred over the course of my fieldwork involving a policeman shooting and wounding a fleeing robbery suspect in the Kalinga capital of Tabuk in the lowlands sparked inter-village conflict between the barangay of the victim and that of the policeman. Elaborate and immensely costly (to the offending family) *bodong* or peace-pact reconciliation and compensation (to the offended family) followed some weeks later.

²⁵ Revenge can sometimes be deferred for months, even years. Bishop Andaya of the Catholic diocese of Tabuk, a staunch advocate of regional peace and cultural/ethnic tolerance, once told me with deep disappointment about a Kalinga teenager who when he was a boy had seen his father gunned down. The boy, goaded by others of his village while growing up, had some 15 years later taken his revenge on his father's assailant, shooting the man dead right there in Tabuk.

the other hand, and later Agnes and others when I asked, were adamant that it was all *pariyao*, that shooting the sniper and the subsequent carnage were altogether morally wrong and were sins against Apo Dios.

Garcia himself had dropped by for a visit one afternoon and joined a group of us hanging out barefoot on Fred and Maguway's porch. Fred was the *barangay* treasurer and the treasurer of a local Anglican men's group, and it was not unusual for people to drop by to see him on *barangay* or church business. Their porch had long integral benches and we reclined and chatted while children shrieked and tumbled about and someone strummed chords on a worn-out guitar. In time the banter trailed off, the kids found other interests, and people eventually dispersed, leaving Garcia and me sitting there. Garcia had always struck me as a commanding individual, someone never short of confidence, and usually quick to joke and jest with me. Months earlier Juan and I had convinced Garcia to retell the events of the Wharatao attack for my benefit, which, although reluctant at first, he eventually did and did with gusto. We gathered in his back yard one afternoon and a group of other men joined in, clarifying points of the story as Garcia told it. Boys not even born at the time of the Wharatao war listened intently from the periphery, perhaps hearing the story for the first time, quietly absorbing what it meant to be *kawitan*.²⁶

Tarlao is among a handful of southern Kalinga villages sometimes referred to as *kawitan barangays*, or fighting *barangays*, and is one of the few whose reputation seems to extend well beyond Kalinga Province. While not all Tarlao men or youth could be considered *kawitan*, enough seem to be to propagate a regional reputation. In regard to this I had noticed that some Tarlao men seemed to cultivate rowdiness and defiance in one or two of their younger sons, or at least chose not to discipline them when they acted up. On my first visit to the village in 2005 I remember Juan's youngest, knee-high little Charlie, as an unruly little scamp in want of restraint. Perfecto's young son was allowed to be equally boisterous. One day in the yard outside his house little Charlie yelled and threatened me with stones. Wanting to set the ground rules early, I grabbed his hands and forced him to drop his ammunition. I scolded him soundly and he cried. Other kids looked on. Only then did I notice Juan sitting and watching proceedings from his front step. I paused, a little unsure of myself, but luckily Juan laughed. It was a little strained but enough to diffuse the awkwardness. Had I not been a welcome visitor and friend things might have ended differently. The point being it seemed normal for some families to want at least one aggressive youth in the household, perhaps to show that family's strength or as a deterrent

²⁶ A Kalinga term meaning rooster or fighting cock, but used to imply aggression and hostility generally.

against those who might come to quarrel, and this sort of encouragement was given at an early age.

Meanwhile, Garcia's story as it unfolded focused on the skirmish, who gave chase, who fired, whose shot hit, whose didn't. Little was said, though, about what happened after the assailant was shot, about the treatment of the body, about the severed head and limbs after they were brought back to the village. Only later did I find out that the hands (some say the fingers) were tied to each side of the head, fingers pointing up, and a large wad of tobacco leaf was lodged in the mouth. Tobacco wads are sometimes wedged in slits in the ends of *siripat* sticks and stuck in rice fields for spirits who are attracted to its smell and who are thought capable of influencing the harvest.²⁷ If the spirit (*achogwa*) of a person who is killed is not placated, as it was in this case with tobacco, it could turn into a *miratoy*, a malicious and frightening wandering spirit who would forever seek its killers. Although he captured the moment for us with fire in his eyes, Garcia was disinclined to say anything more at the time and the general subject matter of that afternoon, aired and put away, had remained unspoken of since then.

But that afternoon on the porch when the others had left Garcia grew pensive, gazing down at the floor. Quite unexpectedly, as if it was some unfinished detail of the head-taking (*whuma'ag*) story he had kept to himself all this time, Garcia volunteered, "I don't eat the *tirapoy* (bread, in this case the Host) of Apo Dios because I'm ashamed of my past sin. You cannot eat the *tirapoy* if you have sinned." The weight of the words, the quiet in Garcia's voice, caught me unprepared. It was true, I thought back but could not remember a single instance when Garcia, a regular churchgoer, had lined up at St Dominic's to receive Holy Communion, the "little bread". In addition to this sense of shame or guilt that Garcia might feel, and which keeps him from taking Holy Communion, there is also a Church commandment concerning sins against Apo Dios which, from Fr. Andrew's perspective, categorically excludes Garcia from this sacrament. As locals have expressed it to me, an individual guilty of such wrongdoing will get sick if he or she eats the *tirapoy* of Apo Dios.

While Garcia felt he was excluded from partaking in the Eucharist, Perfecto chooses not to take Holy Communion, for very different reasons. Neither he nor his family attend any Sunday service other than his mother's local Christian mass (Ch IV), and she neither administers Holy Communion nor conducts any other Christian sacramental rite. In Tarlao these are the domain of Fr. Andrew and the catechist Leonard at the Anglican and Catholic churches respectively. But even if Perfecto had the chance, he might not. "If you eat the

²⁷ Tarlao rice rituals are discussed in Ch VI, sect 6.5.

tirapoy and you make a little mistake,” Perfecto told me, “you will pay a big price. It’s a big sin. If you eat the little *tirapoy* you cannot make foolishness, you must take care of yourself, or it’s a big sin against God.” Part of Perfecto’s comment relates to something which his mother Agnes has warned him against, that he is not to consume alcohol because it is against Apo Dios’s wishes for him. But at least twice while I was there Perfecto had spent a few weeks in Tabuk helping relatives build or renovate their houses, and had returned home with large red welts on his legs, arms and torso (which looked to me like severe allergic reactions to something). On both occasions Agnes scolded him thoroughly for what she was sure he had been doing while down there, drinking, and said that this was Apo Dios’s punishment for him. For Perfecto inappropriately eating the *tirapoy* was another way people leave themselves open to the wrath of God, to *chusa*, and this he told me he was not going to risk because as committed a Christian as he is, he is also prone to ‘foolishness’ every now and then.

Perfecto’s friend Pabro, on the other hand, and more in line with what others had told me, had said eating the ‘little bread’ was one way in which a person could “get the sickness out of their body,” and to protect themselves from sickness and injury, including being hurt or killed in inter-village combat. These were no small compensations, and were likely the very things from which Garcia felt he was excluded. He could have, of course, sought absolution from the Church. I had questioned Fr. Andrew about the rules governing cardinal sin, giving a hypothetical situation. He said that as long as the offender approached him and asked for forgiveness in the name of God that he would give it, and henceforth the fellow could receive the sacrament. Naturally, Garcia would still remain the man who made the kill and got the head, regardless of whether or not he confessed, but for reasons all his own Garcia as of that time (2008) had not sought absolution. Seeing the fire in his eyes as he regaled us that afternoon with the events of the hunt on that dramatic and tragic day in the early 1980s, I can imagine part of him still clings onto his *mehor* (warrior) distinction, of being the one who avenged the dead child. Garcia’s dilemma, in essence, concerned his relinquishing of a sense of moral justification for what he most likely took to be an act of heroism, and consequently being able to enter full Eucharistic participation, or else remaining unrepentant and consequently being excluded, if not from Sunday service, from the healing and protective benefits of Holy Communion.

Garcia’s ‘sin’, moreover, was understood not only to offend Apo Dios and those locals who adhered to Church tenets condemning the taking of life as immoral and sinful. It now, some 25 years later, offended Tarlao residents in a more general sense, as members of a community who endeavour to distance themselves from a prevalent and derogatory lowland

discourse rendering Luzon mountain peoples as more or less simple, backward villagers,²⁸ and Kalinga people more particularly as dangerous, and worse, as headhunters. The topic of head-taking as a whole was avoided, laughed off, or dismissed outright most times I tried to pursue the question. This historical Kalinga practice reflects a truculent and for some a shameful past with which many had already disassociated themselves years if not decades ago, a past which had little place in an adapting and developing community keen to identify with the modern sensibilities of urban districts to the south. Thus there were not only religious and State law opposition but also secular objections to the decapitation of the Wharatao youth, an act now considered by many – and most likely Garcia himself given his apparent internal conflict – even given the circumstances of war, to have fallen foul of the community's general moral principles.

This episode highlights the sort of tension that can emerge when people are influenced in part by underlying convictions concerning Kabunyan's benevolence and protection of them, tied as this is to traditional stories locals tell of Kabunyan's implicit sanctioning of revenge, but all the while participating in Christian liturgy which follows from tenets expressly forbidding violence against others, including one's enemies. I address this paradox below, but first I explore the differences and similarities salient to this chapter between Christianity and the system of integrated practices and cosmological assertions around which Kalinga religion is organized.

2.6 *Pariyao* and Christianity

Returning to Juan, one day in discussing various local practices that people undertake in response to action attributed to a local spirit-world, he also reflected on the 'religion' that the first missionaries brought to Tarlao. But he began by correcting me regarding the correlation I had initially made between Agnes's Sunday mass (*misa*) and the Sunday service (*misa*) at the other two Tarlao churches (Ch IV). Hers, he informed me, is not 'religion'. Agnes has the Holy Spirit inside, he said, and because of this she can voice the messages from Apo Dios and give medicine (*acas*) to people. He then linked and legitimized Agnes's ability with that of Agnes's late father, Agpad, who years ago also had a remarkable facility for curing illness in people. Juan, affirming what many had told me previously, said Agnes's church (*singwa'an*) is the house of Apo Dios, the place where Apo Dios comes, where people can go to listen to Apo Dios's words voiced through Agnes. The Anglican and Catholic churches (*singwa'an*) are like schools, he told me, where on Sundays many people go as if students to listen to a teacher read and explain the Bible. As Juan and others saw it, the church that the Belgian

²⁸ Modernizing influences, declining Kalinga cultural elements, and the rural/urban cultural divide are addressed at some length in Ch V, sect 5.7.

priests built some 70 years ago, the mass, the 'little bread', biblical exegesis, the privileged life of educated, salaried bishops, priests and deacons, all came together under the rubric of 'religion'.

This is not to say that locals do not accept what is taught at the Anglican and Catholic services, or think that the Bible is not 'true'. For Juan, Jesu Christo is a true god, but his birth place was here, among people, not in heaven or any kind of spirit-world. In fact on a number of occasions Juan regaled me with stories about Jesu and his ability to accomplish tasks perfectly and effortlessly. One brief tale, situating Christianity's central figure among the Kalinga, was that a long time ago Jesu visited one of the regional *barangays* and joined in the *chunchunag* (a form of singing which I have seen performed at celebratory funerals, and which accompanies a stylized and entertaining display of rice-pounding presented by a small group of women). Local residents from this *barangay* saw how beautifully this stranger performed, became increasingly jealous of him, and later found him alone and killed him. The tale finished with the sort of moral found in many Kalinga myths about Kabunyan. Juan – whom I've never known to attend a church service – said that the *pade* (priest) at the church talks about the Ten Commandments (and other scriptural readings, and stories about Jesu), but that in the past in Kalinga there were no practices like this, no 'religion'. But times have changed. He said these days there are many people who steal and kill, and religion (Church teachings), as he understood it, is a way of controlling or guiding people's actions. "In this new generation," he concluded, "there are wise people who make many kinds of religion. But before the Church came to Kalinga, before the school came, before the *pade*, we had *pariyao*."

Juan's conclusion, consistent with the sorts of things others had spoken to me of, suggests that historically Kalinga people participated, as they continue to do so now, in a moral order wherein acts such as theft and violence were conceived of as *pariyao*, or immoral conduct. The moral order of which *pariyao* is a part arguably serves in a particular way as positive influence on people, in much the same way that Juan takes Church teachings today to curtail parishioners' wayward conduct. As such *pariyao* and this social disciplining aspect of Christianity become a comparable way of encouraging moral order in society. This tends to happen partly as people chide others for their offensive conduct, but also by linking such misconduct to divine retribution. As mentioned above, *pariyao* is underpinned by the related, if not always directly expressed, notion that Kabunyan (or sometimes other spirits) will intervene, bringing misfortune to those perceived to be behaving badly. The allusion to the involvement of a transcendent Other might at times be downplayed in the way some people simply say that the same sort of woes a person causes others will someday afflict

them, or in the way people scold others for a particular offence they may be committing by saying don't do that, that is *pariyao*, and leaving references to *chusa* unspoken.

But God's involvement, as informants invariably reported, is nevertheless implied. The cosmological aspect of *pariyao* aligns with Christian philosophy concerning God's reckoning for sinners, or an economy of salvation (Cannell, 2006: 144-46), in that the pairing of *pariyao/chusa* has its complement in the Catholic and Anglican doctrines outlining sin/punishment, of immoral human action bound up with divine re-action or retribution. The related principles *pariyao* and *chusa*, as part of a broader concatenation which takes in ritual (*karu*) as reparation (detailed in Ch III), are arguably a pairing on which much of Kalinga social life and moral sensibilities revolve. This is consistent with a theoretical approach Rappaport (1999) takes connecting assertions about God/spirits first to certain axioms concerning such things in Kalinga terms as the linking of immorality to misfortune, and second to the related rituals derived from and supportive of these assertions and axioms (as detailed in chapter I).

For Juan, moreover, there was a sense of congruency between on the one hand the Church, its doctrine, its authority and influence in matters of morality, law-giving and divine punishment for wrongdoers, and on the other, the related indigenous notion of *chusa*, of spirit-world retribution associated with Kalinga *pariyao*. Here were, among other distinctions, two doctrinally diverse, culturally-informed religious and moral orders – Christianity and *pariyao* – which Juan had brought together in discussion, suggesting not that one replaced the other over time, but that historically where there was one, now there are two locally accepted and harmonizing ways of tying misconduct to misfortune.

Joel Robbins (2004), in pursuing questions concerning human sinfulness, its nature, and what makes it for some people a compelling idea, similarly puts forward the notion of two distinct moral systems at work in Urapmin society, PNG. Robbins argues that

for the Urapmin a felt sense of sin derives from the way Christian morality engages their traditional moral conventions while at the same time presenting an alternative set of conventions that, although seemingly remarkably similar, are actually different in ways that make them impossible for the Urapmin to follow successfully. The fact of engagement is important, for it allows Christian morality an entrée into Urapmin thinking, but it is the differences that ultimately produce people's conviction of their own sinfulness.

(2004: 215)

Robbins defines the “moral domain as one in which actors are culturally constructed as being aware both of the directive force of [social, moral] values and of the choices left open to them in responding to that force,” and argues for the need to “recognize that it is fundamentally a domain that consists of actions undertaken consciously,” (2004: 315). Arguing that the moral domain is one of “conscious deliberation and considered action” and that this takes on a “special role in the process of cultural change”, Robbins goes on to argue that it is “in moral terms that the differences between the values promoted by an old culture and by a new one, and the differences between the choices these values leave open to people, are most likely to be consciously recognized,” (2004: 316). Hence for Robbins the moral domain is “destined to be the one in which people can recognize and confront the problems of working with two cultures at once,” (*ibid.*). Whereas Robbins uses the ethical field to ground his notion of a “two-sided culture” (2004: 4), and promote his model of cultural ‘adoption’ (2004: 10-14), I focus on moral dissonance as a means of talking about Kalinga moral, liturgical and cosmological plurality within the one cultural and social order.

Above, Juan draws attention to history and divergence in differently conceptualized and organized moral orders, but notably there is also important overlap between the two. Indigenous moral sensibilities supported by a Kalinga understanding of a local deity/cosmology, and Christian moral principles drawn from doctrine concerning a trans-local deity/cosmology, for the most part circumscribe very similar ethical ground – an observation which articulates with notions concerning the confluence of moralities Barker (2007) refers to as the ‘moral orthodoxy’ in his account of how locals at times strategically bring together disparate moral authorities (I will return to this point below).

The notion of underlying compatibility and consensus of assertions and understandings concerning *pariyao/chusa* and sin/punishment needs also to be situated with related concepts concerning the Kalinga God Kabunyan and the Christian God Apo Dios. Concepts of divinities need to be further distinguished into assertions concerning their existence and power on the one hand, and on the other, characteristics attributed to them – the latter having far more social referents than the former. For example, both Kabunyan and Apo Dios, in their own way, are understood to be transcendent, omnipresent, an uncreated Creator, ultimately unknowable, benevolent yet retributive, watchful of human affairs, capable of miraculous deeds, and known to have in the past manifested in human form when visiting or living among people. These features are manifest in Kalinga mythology, cosmology and *ugali* on the one hand, and Christian doctrine, Sunday services and sacramental rites on the other. As is evident from the Kalinga traditional stories concerning Kabunyan that I have related

above, and the syncretic tales integrating biblical characters and Kalinga social and natural surrounds, as well as local assertions concerning indigenous spirit people, Kalinga mythology and cosmology diverge on many levels from Christian equivalencies. Despite this divergence of religious mythology – through which people substantiate, it would seem reasonable to think, correspondingly divergent understandings of the cosmos – locals' stance on 'God' is one of unwavering unity.

Many informants when asked outright looked at me askance, replying that of course Kabunyan and Apo Dios are one and the same. Perfecto, for instance, often regaled me with indigenized versions of popular Bible stories set in Kalinga hill country and swidden gardens. On one occasion I questioned him, trying to prise apart concepts and references to Kabunyan (Kalinga cosmology) and Apo Dios (Christian cosmology) which he had syncretically woven together in one of his tales, only to have him look over at me with a wry smile, as if I should have known better, and exclaim, "There are not two Apo Dios, only one, so Kabunyan must be Apo Dios." Corazon, the Tarlao elementary school principal, in turn, equally bemused with my query, informed me that Kalinga people have always believed in an Almighty, who in Tarlao dialect is called *aran ad tongod*, or Kabunyan, but who is now called Apo Dios. Fr. Andrew said much the same thing concerning the fundamental similarities between the Episcopal Church-Anglican Communion, to which he belongs, and the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines:²⁹ "It's the same God."³⁰

The issue here is not merely one of terminology (i.e., one God, two names, although this is the way numerous informants expressed it to me), because beyond the above shared characteristics there are also marked differences between understandings of Kabunyan and Apo Dios in the culture, history and language in which people situate them, their local or trans-local relevance, and the specificities of the creation myths and the unique cosmologies in which they are implicated. One and not the other is affirmed through ancient scriptures and supported through hierarchical ecclesiastic ministries, and in the Philippines has been greatly influential in political arenas, civic movements, and so forth. When locals position

²⁹ The difference Fr. Andrew most stressed pertained to the leaders of the two denominations, the authority and political structure of the Churches. Another difference pertained to inter-denominational marriage wherein the requirement of the Catholic Church is that Anglicans be baptised Catholic prior to marrying with a Catholic; whereas Catholics need only be 'received' (even retrospectively, making things easier) by the Anglican bishop to marry with an Anglican.

³⁰ There seemed to be very little local interest in a Trinitarian understanding of God. Agnes is known to be possessed by the Holy Spirit of Apo Dios, and others would talk of Apo Dios sending the *echao* and *eue* birds, and being the divine connection between misconduct and misfortune, among other things. When others talk of Jesu it is invariably as a character (in human form much like Kabunyan who in the early days came to Tarlao in human form) in locally-set stories of the past – as when Juan tells of how Apo Dios and Jesu Christo came one day to a central Kalinga *barangay* as father and son, as an old man and a young man, and were treated badly by the people there. Concepts of the Holy Spirit, Apo Dios and Christ tend to be kept distinct.

themselves in relation to an event (e.g., illness, early death) by referencing Apo Dios or Kabunyan, they implicitly and necessarily evoke a corresponding amalgam of histories, mythologies, localizations, liturgical orders, and political and social influences. In referring to Apo Dios in connection to the principle of *chusa* people also evoke, legitimize and sanctify the Church and the *pade*, and affirm Christian doctrine, liturgy and cosmology, as well as the divine nature of Apo Dios. In referring to Kabunyan in connection to the principle of *chusa* the same people evoke, legitimize and sanctify in turn Kalinga mythology and cosmology, associated as they are with *karu* reparatory sacrifices, as well as other long-standing *ugali*, while affirming the godly nature of Kabunyan as well as the potency of spirits, among other things.

From an inverse perspective the locally irrefutable truth connecting *pariyao* to some form or other of spirit-world retribution, or *chusa*, ultimately supports both local and trans-local conceptions of a divine entity or transcendent Other. Here two processes need to be accounted for – the linking of ritual activity through particular overarching principles to a specific divine being, and arguably the local merging of concepts of divine beings, both of which I address below.

2.7 Orthodoxy, heterodoxy, and coterminous moral systems

Rappaport's four-tier analysis as summarized in the opening chapter, in an effort to account for a process beginning and ending with ritual performance, tends to be self-sustaining and self-perpetuating. That this model can come across as perhaps a little too streamlined may be due to the tendency Rappaport has of focusing on religious and ritual systems as self-contained entities. But when historically, culturally and doctrinally divergent ritual and moral systems occupy the same space – as a considerable volume of anthropological literature suggests for many if not all former colonial regions – they naturally provide alternative ways of comprehending the social, natural and supernatural worlds. Coterminous ritual and moral systems are, for reasons discussed below, also likely to be complementary at some levels and conflicting at others. Their complementariness relates to people's ability to interpret practices traditionally associated with one liturgical order through a frame to which they themselves conform, in a way reinterpreting or reconfiguring elements of divergent liturgy, perhaps even claiming them as a part of, or at least consistent with, their own convictions.

Fr. Andrew and other adherents to trans-local Christian faith in the community take Agnes – the old woman who conducts a Christianized healing Sunday gathering in the village (Ch IV) – to be one of Apo Dios's messengers, possessed of the Holy Spirit and charged with doing

the work of Apo Dios of curing the sick in the village. This is consistent with biblical accounts concerning God's Holy Spirit descending upon followers of Jesu Christo enabling them to heal the sick, and other biblical scriptures concerning individuals throughout history who have spoken God's messages to the people.³¹ Others in Tarlao might appreciate in Agnes and her practice the continuity of a gift for healing traditionally taken to be inherited from the spirit (*achogwa*) of a deceased relative, and the conformity to methods used by others in the village who treat mouth ulcers, stomach pain, bone deformities, and the like. Christian clergy might include the local reasoning behind the *to'or* rice rituals (Ch VI, sect 6.5) as simply another way of petitioning God's divine assistance in growing the food on which Tarlao families rely. After one of his Sunday homilies, Leonard, the community's Catholic catechist, asked for volunteers to weave stick-grass (*siripat*) into two-foot long plaits to be blessed at the following Palm Sunday service and passed out to congregants to place in their rice terraces (*papayao*) to protect the maturing crops – effectively a substitute for the indigenous practice of tying *siripat* into a knot, an object then called a *perchos* and which is used, among other things, to ward off malignant spirits, protecting work places, personal property, and rice fields to mention but a few.³²

Conversely, many in the village take Holy Communion, the 'little bread', to protect a person from illness and harm, which is consistent with an understanding of the workings of the world derived from elemental Kalinga principles concerning Kabunyan's goodwill toward Tarlao people. For Church representatives, participation in the sacrament of Holy Eucharist is a form of communion with Apo Dios and a means of receiving His Grace and salvation in the afterlife. The nature of sacraments, communion and salvation, then, are particular assertions, understandings or interpretations connected to liturgical practice and conforming to Christian philosophy, all of which in their own way re-affirm the existence and divinity of Apo Dios. Yet the same liturgical practice (eating the 'little bread') could just as readily be – and for many of my informants, is – appreciated through an alternative set of assertions (e.g., avoidance of sickness/harm) following from an alternative elemental principle (e.g., Kabunyan protects Tarlao people), and, it would be reasonable to think, sanctified by an alternative conception of God (i.e., Kabunyan).

These liturgical practices are alternative or heterodox, moreover, only from an 'orthodox' Christian perspective; from the perspective of ordinary Tarlao men and women these assertions, principles and conceptions simply constitute part of the unspoken and expected understanding concerning the relationships in Kalinga between the natural and spirit-

³¹ For example, St. Mark, 16:18 on the Holy Spirit and the gift of healing; Acts, 1:8 on the Holy Spirit and speaking God's message.

³² The *perchos* is described in relation to rice planting rituals in Ch VI, sect 6.4.

worlds, something that Tarlao locals have likely been socialized into from an early age. These processes of reinterpretation or reconfiguration are arguably part of on-going inclusionary practices, bringing, for instance, an important element of Christianity (the sacrament of Holy Communion) within a Kalinga cosmological purview and situating it alongside such traditional practices (*ugali*) as animal sacrifice (*karu*), birthing rituals (*ontad*), and traditional healing practices (*mana'acas*), or for that matter bringing the chief purpose of the *to'or* rice rituals within a Christian purview. In this way, at the risk of over-simplifying, Kalinga rituals or *kaugalian* are not only associated with Kabunyan but can be with Apo Dios as well, just as Christian liturgy not only evokes Apo Dios but, depending on the interpretation, also Kabunyan.

To reconfigure, claim or in other ways bring a practice or assertion into 'mainstream' acceptance is, to an extent, to fashion and endorse an orthodox view of it. The notion of orthodoxy in relation to otherwise divergent liturgical orders is echoed in the work of John Barker (2007) who, in his study of convergence in basic moral sensibilities of a Melanesian group from Uiaku, PNG, uses a tripartite approach, following Burridge, in defining the boundaries of the moral and political environment governing people's daily interactions. Barker observes that "villagers recognized three types of leaders in reference to the various activities and associations present in the community: village, mission, and government," (2007: 79). These corresponded to three types of local identity, that of tribesmen, Christians and citizens, which in turn were associated with their own distinct moral orientations (2007: 81). Barker argues that while people sometimes criticized or opposed the values in customary practices, in church teachings, and in law and order, they mostly assumed that the three types of moral authority were compatible. Locals could "play down the tensions between the three types of moral authority because they shared an underlying consensus concerning the basic moral rules of society. This knowledge was largely tacit, yet all the more powerful for being left unspoken and not subject to debate," (*ibid.*). Barker refers to these basic assumptions as the 'moral orthodoxy', a consensus which finds its "grounding in the everyday practices of exchange within networks of kin and affinal relationships," (2007: 90), but also in public discourse where people appealed to one institution or another, each with its own (but compatible) moral stance on a given issue. Barker's notion of convergence or orthodoxy additionally provides a way of accounting for Tarlao locals' participation in and acceptance of doctrinally disparate ritual activity.³³ Nonetheless, there is still the lingering sense that a state of moral orthodoxy is one which is socially constructed and requires at least some effort to be maintained.

³³ The relationship between morality and ritual performativity is discussed in Ch III.

Despite the evident convergence of both Kalinga and Christian moral sensibilities, the moral paradox being considered at the heart of this chapter – a circumstance involving co-occurring and competing moral authorities – necessitates a broader view of the notion of orthodoxy, one that situates itself with reference to and recognized by excluded alternatives, or heterodoxy. Such a view has been offered by Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 159-71) who places both orthodoxy and heterodoxy in relation to a third term, 'doxa' – the naturalization of arbitrariness, whereby a given world view comes to be seen as natural and taken for granted. Bourdieu describes doxa as the experience of "a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization (as in ancient societies) [wherein] the natural and social world appears as self-evident," (1977: 164). He goes on to state that the "adherence expressed in the doxic relation to the social world is the absolute form of recognition of legitimacy through misrecognition of arbitrariness, since it is unaware of the very question of legitimacy, which arises from competition for legitimacy, and hence from conflict between groups claiming to possess it," (1977: 168). Of the discourse of orthodoxy Bourdieu states that it "exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy, that is, by reference to the choice – *hairesis*, heresy – made possible by the existence of *competing possibles* and to the explicit critique of the sum total of the alternatives not chosen that the established order implies," (1977: 169, original emphasis). Here Bourdieu refers to a sort of manifest censorship and opposition imposed by orthodox discourse on heterodox alternatives, much the same way in which, for instance, Tarlaos Christian clergy, State law, and urban Filipino society in general oppose indigenous moral authority concerning vengeance, while continuously or recurrently re-presenting to themselves and others the moral standards which they themselves advocate.

Barker's notion of 'moral orthodoxy', taken together with Bourdieu's 'competing possibles', complements Rappaport's theory of sanctifying postulates and the sanctified axioms which he ties into a society's liturgical orders and moral principles. As it stands Rappaport's analysis alone seems insufficient to address the complexities of ritual and religion in locales where a nationally orchestrated institution like Christianity, with respect to its distinct denominations, co-occurs with indigenous spirit-world convictions. Such complexities reveal themselves in part in the fact that Tarlaos locals uncontroversially participate in ritual orders which they themselves recognize have very different historical backgrounds, yet unhesitatingly state that the respective deities, the Kalinga God and the Christian God, are for them one and the same. Rappaport uses the term Ultimate Sacred Postulates to refer to statements concerning the existence and power of such deities. Aside from these elementary assertions, the nature of God or spirits and their relationship with humans are for Rappaport

contained in other assertions, or cosmological axioms, which exhibit more social import than statements solely about existence and power.

For example, the fundamental cosmological assertion that the Almighty is ever watchful of human affairs and does not look favourably upon bad behaviour is found in traditional stories Kalinga people tell of Kabunyan, but it is similarly found in biblical canon relating to Apo Dios. Cosmological principles such as this inspire particular tenets or rules upon which much of social life is predicated. The reparatory ritual sacrifice (*karu*)³⁴ which follows on from Kalinga understandings concerning *pariyao* or immoral conduct, and the rites of confession and absolution following on from Christian teachings about sin, forgiveness and the persistence of the soul in the afterlife, are ritual expressions of these sorts of tenets and rules. Here the axiom concerning omnipresence, watchfulness and morality provides the requisite common foundation. Agreement at the level of cosmological axioms, I argue, would more likely lead people to accept – despite differences in ritual systems, mythology, culture, history, language, political influence, local or trans-local relevance, and so forth – that there “are not two Apo Dios, only one, so Kabunyan must be Apo Dios,” and vice versa.

However, a similarity between some cosmological principles does not necessarily mean that all such principles or the assertions, rules and interpretations that they support are similar between distinct liturgical orders. In fact it seems reasonable to suggest that if or when contradictions or tension arise between religious orders and their adherents, this might be where they originate: in societies’ assertions concerning the social import of relationships between the natural and the supernatural. Participation at the performative level (e.g., attending Mass, undertaking *karu* sacrifice), and perceived convergence at the more abstract, socially remote level (e.g., taking Apo Dios and Kabunyan to be one and the same deity), can leave some important implicit principles and assertions at the intermediary step (e.g., that wrongs must be compensated or avenged) unaccounted for and certainly unacceptable by people like Fr. Andrew. Cosmological axioms, I suggest, not only provide a means for bridging differences between doctrinally and cosmologically differing ritual cycles and Gods, but these mediating assertions related to these two poles (rituals and Gods) can also conceal differences in moral principles.

For instance, inherent in the elemental principles concerning God’s goodwill toward and protection of Tarlaos people, who in local origin tales are the first people, are other understandings, implicit in Kalinga mythology, concerning revenge – not that Kalinga men are hot-tempered and will retaliate if attacked, but that such retaliation is not considered

³⁴ Detailed in Chapter III.

pariyao and hence not punishable by God. Myths, as Rappaport observes, are part of a discourse through which sanctity flows, and are intimately related to canon; myths are "if not themselves ultimately sacred or the locus of Ultimate Sacred Postulates, highly sanctified, as may be other sanctified expressions which, in their enunciation, select as true particular understandings of the world from the great range of understandings and words the world makes possible," (1999: 317). This being so, the traditional stories people tell themselves of their origins, and the guidance, knowledge and values Kabunyan imparted to their ancestors in the early days, are the sorts of sanctified expressions which complement other sanctified expressions or principles, such as local understandings relating to God's benevolence and concern.

Myths by this logic fall into the same intermediary category as cosmological axioms, their inherent lessons and values also playing a role in the sorts of action and interaction that constitutes much of Kalinga social life. Mythology relating to Kabunyan, in its telling and retelling, affirms the godly nature of this deity in whose name indigenous rituals are performed. Many of these Kalinga rituals, as I have tried to show here and will explore further in subsequent chapters, could equally be claimed to support the Christian divinity Apo Dios and complement aspects of Church doctrine. Locally understood Christian philosophy in general, however, denounces violence and vengeance as sin punishable by Apo Dios. Here, paradoxically, is an elemental principle of Christianity which has its parallel in the Kalinga notion of *chusa*, and finds its place in Rappaport's hierarchy of sanctification alongside such sanctified, but contradictory, expressions concerning retaliation as found in Kalinga mythology.

If, for example, conducting the *karu* chicken and pig sacrifice or taking the Eucharist at Sunday service are ritual enactments that follow on from cosmological axioms which inspire particular rules and interdictions relating to Kalinga social life, then pursuing revenge, too, it could be argued, follows on from (very different) principles concerning values and characteristics implicitly condoned by Kabunyan (but not Apo Dios) and supported in Kalinga mythology (but not in biblical canon). That Fr. Andrew for one cannot reconcile the act of brutal retaliation with Tarlao men who ordinarily profess to be Christians, and conversely, that some of those men still adhere to the principle that vengeance is a Kalinga obligation – both stances, from their own perspectives, being divinely sanctioned – is clearly a moral paradox. Such irreconcilable difference is, I suggest, veiled – and revealed most clearly in the crisis of war and the calculation of vengeance – in the middle ground between Rappaport's notion of postulates concerning an ultimate sanctifying entity or God, and local participation in Christian and Kalinga liturgical practice. Co-occurring in this intermediary

level of fundamental assertions, mythology and cosmological axioms are both the complementary and conflicting principles which ground people's traditions and influence their sentiments, attitudes, relationships and action.

While this chapter has mainly dealt with some of the complexity of *pariyao* as it relates to among other things partially contrasting moral orders, and as it is understood in the broader purview of *chusa* or spirit-world retribution, the following chapter takes as a departure point the resolution of strained social and spirit-world relations through domestic ritual sacrifice. Ritual as reparation made to a transcendent Other to account for moral transgressions is contextualized with respect to discussions of the efficacy of ritual performance.

Chapter III

Expiation, propitiation, and meta-performativity: Kalinga reparatory ritual as a response to spirit-world retribution



Butchering a pig on the doorstep for a man overcome with sickness

In this chapter my ethnographic focus is the sort of ritual activity which complements a central aspect of local tradition which people refer to as the Kalinga Three Commandments: *Pariyao*, *Wain* and *Ngelin*. This analysis highlights a narrower spectrum of the total Kalinga ritual sphere. Other ritual activity in Tarlao Kalinga includes liturgy performed in an official capacity by Christian clergy (baptism, weddings, Sunday mass, etc.), and that which is undertaken by Kalinga ritual specialists (agricultural rites, curative rituals, the Kalinga indigenous mass, etc.), and the innumerable domestic rituals carried out usually by senior members of a household (life-cycle rituals, the warding off or placating of dangerous spirits, etc.). As discussed in the opening chapters, the central facet of *pariyao* plays a significant role in the system of integrated practices and cosmological assertions that constitute Kalinga religion and moral order. In a focused study of the prevalent local conception that misfortune is consequent to the workings of a transcendent Other (either spirits or deity), and linked to an individual's immoral conduct, the ritual activity under consideration here is that which I take to be a form of reparation rendered for the sorts of wrongdoings which are locally understood to have brought about such misfortune. Here the

concatenation of transgression, retribution and reparation constitutes an essential part of the Kalinga religious landscape.

More specifically, in this chapter I explore two typical examples of ritual involving the sacrifice of domestic animals, the modest *mampisat* ritual and the more elaborate *karu*, contextualizing them through the social circumstances in which they happened to unfold. In their own way they are both undertaken with the intent of making reparation for the sorts of wrongdoings that are understood to have provoked a response from a transcendent Other. Their immediate aim is to counter, dispel or protect people from spirit-world attributed negative or dangerous situations. Both activities involve a specific number and type of domestic animals – traditionally native chickens in even numbers of two or four, or else three or groups of three, depending on spirit-world related circumstances. Of the two, the *mampisat* example can more readily be understood along the lines of two specific, distinct and complementary aspects of ritual: propitiation and expiation. Here I engage with Hubert and Mauss's (1964) study of what they take to be the co-occurrence of these two features within the same ritual act.

The *mampisat* and the *karu* also conform to their own specific forms – in addition to the specific number and type of animals used there are customary ways of displaying bodily parts of sacrifice as evidence of completion, without which these ritual acts would not be considered to be properly undertaken. That there is meaning and purpose behind not only these performances but also the form they take is something informants themselves confirm. While such meaningfulness is not in question here, Rappaport (1999) argues that ritual is at least sometimes more than simply meaningful or symbolic – some rituals are understood to actually *do* something, to achieve something like a conventional effect. Rappaport brings his discussion of rituals which achieve conventional effects, referred to as performatives, into dialogue with Austin's (1962) work with speech acts, or utterances which do things, of which, Austin argues, the reception of or intended effect on an audience can never wholly be guaranteed or conventional. This protestation, moreover, becomes particularly salient when the audience to whom a performative or speech act is directed numbers among the numinous, in whom it would likely always be difficult to ascertain the uptake of the communication or the consequent reactions.³⁵

³⁵ Gardner (1983) says something similar in his analysis of initiation rites of Mianmin of highland PNG, the success of which, he argues, relies more on the blessings of ancestor spirits than on the technology of the ritual itself. Following Austin, Gardner draws a sharp distinction between illocutionary acts (e.g. initiation rituals) and perlocutionary effects (e.g. initiated boys), saying of the former that while they are intended to have perlocutionary outcomes they are not causally related to the latter (1983: 349). Of Mianmin initiation Gardner states "Since the elders' power [to initiate] derives from the ancestors, their words and deeds cannot bind the ancestors," (1983: 354) to a desired

Despite the reservations that Austin's work presents regarding conventional effects in speech acts, Rappaport proceeds with his use of Austin's earlier terminology (performative act) to emphasize a vital point regarding the establishment of convention through the enactment of ritual. The establishment of convention through ritual, Rappaport argues, provides a logical basis for the acceptance among participants of the enduring, more or less invariant, pre-encoded content of the liturgical order, of which the ritual act is a specific instance, and in this way acceptance becomes one of the conventional effects of ritual. Rappaport concludes that the acceptance inhering in ritual performance is nothing short of "explicitly performative", (1999: 124). A further aspect of this notion of acceptance is that it implies obligation on the part of the participant to uphold what ever it is that they have implicitly agreed to through participation in a given ritual and, as discussed in the opening chapter, this sense of obligation through ritual, its future preservation or violation, establishes a moral state of affairs. But more than this, the intrinsic acceptance of ritual's pre-established form and content, without which the act could not be considered legitimate, necessarily affirms the cosmological order that pertains to the ritual being enacted. In this way (religious) ritual establishes and re-establishes the gods or spirits to whom the ritual is directed, as well as the conventions pertaining to those gods and spirits, and the legitimacy of the liturgical order together with the authority accorded its practitioners – ultimately endowing ritual with a meta-function beyond the specificities of the ritual act itself.

Performatives in ritual, Rappaport argues, are "self-fulfilling: they make themselves true in the sense of standing in a relationship of conformity to the states of affairs with which they are concerned," (1999: 117). In terms of Austinian speech acts, the consequences of utterances, whether or how they are taken up in a recipient, cannot be easily predicted, and hence cannot be said to be conventional (1962: 121). In this chapter I suggest that both of these positions – despite what may seem like an incompatibility concerning the achievement of conventional effects – can productively inform Kalinga reparatory ritual in their own way. Ritual reparation as a means of resolution for acts of *pariyao* typically involves the sacrifice of domestic animals, but it additionally requires the protagonist to thereafter cease conduct that is locally deemed *pariyao*. That is, resolution is not completed through the ritual act alone, but is contingent upon the protagonist's future action. The same is true for the medicine offered in Kalinga curative ritual in that its efficacy is understood to be contingent upon the afflicted person changing their immoral ways. According to Austin's arguments the *mampisat* and *karu* cannot in any straightforward way be taken as simple performatives.

result, and as such "there is necessarily a potential gap between what people do and what divinity requires," (1983: 358).

Yet, in a Rappaportian perspective, both of these reparatory rituals can be taken on a broader level to stand in a relationship of conformity to the conventional order to which they pertain. Whereas at the ground level the *mampisat* and *karu* cannot be said to effect expected outcomes by their undertaking or completion, at a more abstract level, because of the particular form that these rituals take, they are arguably intrinsically performative, with their effects pertaining to the conventions of the cosmological order.

I begin with a detailed examination of Rappaport's approach to ritual, and Austin's work with performatives, followed by a close look at the role of retribution in Kalinga society. I then proceed with an exploration of reparatory ritual through an example of the *mampisat*, coupled with a discussion of expiation and propitiation in sacrifice, and followed by an ethnographic investigation of a second reparatory ritual, the *karu*, drawing it together with Rappaport's notion of the meta-performative in ritual.

3.1 Rappaport, acceptance and the establishment of convention

In his broad analysis of ritual and religion Rappaport asserts that ritual entails, among other things, the establishment of convention, the sealing of social contract, the investment of whatever it encodes with morality, and the sanctification of conventional orders, (1999: 27). There are also further considerations in the analysis of ritual. Among other things, ritual performance affirms the propriety of the procedures used and the authority and eligibility of the performers involved (1999: 116). That rituals or liturgical orders pertain to a pre-established, enduring, conventional way of doing things – in part as an effort to achieve whatever it is they set out to achieve – bespeaks a certain order or formality to their performance. This formality of ritual aids in establishing the proper ritual context and methods, together with the authority and eligibility of those taking part. Propriety, authority and eligibility constitute part of the invariance of ritual which, together with its formality, is critical to the notion of acceptance – formality and invariance are the features of ritual which maintain constant that which is accepted (i.e., the pre-encoded content of ritual), without which that which is accepted would not be conventional (1999: 126).

Rappaport additionally argues that “the formality of ritual makes very clear and explicit what it is that is being done,” (1999: 116), and he links this unambiguous nature of ritual to participants' public acceptance of the broader tenets pertaining to the liturgical orders being performed. Public acceptance, that is, is independent of ‘belief’, which Rappaport argues has no necessary connection to ritual performance (1999: 119–20). Belief may for many people be a major reason for participating in religious activity, but the proper, legitimate, open enactment of ritual, regardless of the inner state of the participant, is sufficient in itself to

evoke acceptance of the broader codes and stipulations in concern, and with acceptance, to evoke commitment and obligation. As detailed in the opening chapter, the open and intrinsic acceptance in ritual helps endow the ritual process with morality, insofar as it outlines the obligations created through the ritual act and imposed on those who take part in ritual.

Rappaport links this sense of obligation to what he refers to as ritual's "perlocutionary force"³⁶ (1999: 116), namely that the commitment to ritual and its tenets compels a person to act in a particular way, or at least to be aware that to violate these tenets are to act against the very stipulations that he or she enlivened and accepted through participating in the ritual act (1999: 123). This sense of obligation, then, stems from one's participation in ritual, an act in which there is unambiguous acceptance of whatever is encoded in the ritual and the broader religious tenets of which the ritual act is a public acknowledgment. For example, "Participation in a ritual in which a prohibition against adultery is enunciated by, among others, himself may not prevent a man from committing adultery, but it does establish for him the prohibition of adultery as a rule that he himself has both enlivened and accepted," (1999: 123).

Also as mentioned in the opening chapter, Rappaport argues that to establish a convention is both to ascribe existence to it and to accept it (1999: 125). He states that "These conventions may include not only the procedures for achieving states of affairs, but the conventional understandings defining both those states of affairs, and the character of the cosmos in which those states of affairs, procedures, and understandings have their places," (1999: 278-79). In participating in ritual all those involved not only create meaning for themselves, and re-establish the conventions around that ritual, and around the broader liturgical order of which that particular ritual is a part, perhaps even with the hope that conventionally understood effects take place. But over and above these, through their acceptance of the pre-encoded content of the ritual, participants additionally re-affirm assertions concerning relationships between the human and transcendent world. That is, people additionally re-affirm the existence and power of the deity or spirits at the apex of a local conceptual system, as well as the related axiomatic principles which have a bearing on social and moral life. Rappaport refers to these sorts of affirmations as the meta-functions of ritual, the effects that ritual achieves beyond the specificities of a given ritual enactment.

³⁶ Here Rappaport brings together two terms found in Austin's work, but not found together, and in fact explicitly kept separate on principle – 'perlocutionary' in which Austin refers to the achieving of certain effects by saying something; and 'force' in which he refers to that aspect of an illocutionary act which may, for example, compel a person to act, or allow or disallow particular action. Illocutionary force is initiated by the speaker and perlocutionary acts, additionally, involve consequences taken up in an audience, after the fact of an utterance. Following a similar principle, Rappaport links a sense of moral compulsion or obligation (force) to certain states of affairs which are brought about by ritual, after the fact, hence reworking Austin's notion of 'perlocution'.

This notion of conventional procedures and circumstances is foundational to Rappaport's overarching argument that ritual supports Ultimate Sacred Postulates and their related cosmological axioms, which as discussed in the opening chapter is the analytical approach through which I explore complementing and competing religious cosmologies and moralities. Here Rappaport is concerned with two related but distinct aspects of the ritual process; one dealing with the act itself and the effects it is thought to achieve, and the other, more importantly, linking the act not only to the broader liturgical order but to the cosmological order to which that liturgy is intrinsically bound. To better understand the meta-functional aspects of ritual as Rappaport portrays them requires a closer examination of the performative aspects of ritual, and the related, if problematic idea of taken-for-granted or conventional effects.

3.2 Rappaport, Austin and performativity in ritual

Part of Rappaport's approach to ritual includes the notion that there are certain types of messages in ritual that do more than just inform a receiver of changes in conditions to their social or physical environment, but that achieve those changes *ex opera operato*, or in the language of Speech Act theory, with 'illocutionary' force (1999: 114). In this regard Rappaport acknowledges the pioneering work of J.L. Austin (1962) – particularly Austin's earlier conception of what he called 'performatives' (utterances which *do* things, including some rituals which do things), which Austin defines against what he calls 'constatives' (statements which may be assessed either 'true' or 'false', 1962: 12-13). For Austin performatives achieve something in the way that, for example, bequeathing transfers ownership of property, and baptism alters a person's religious status. Utterances pertaining to these types of events are not normally regarded as just describing, stating or reporting something, but rather they consummate an act (1962: 5-7).³⁷ Rappaport, while implicitly acknowledging Austin's distinction between separate, identifiable aspects of speech-acts (locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary, as detailed below), proceeds with Austin's "earlier and simpler terminology" of 'performatives' in his analysis of the types of rituals that

³⁷ Initially Austin endeavoured to distinguish 'performatives' or utterances which are taken to perform actions, from 'constatives' or statements which do not bring about a particular state of affairs but can be assessed as true or false in regards to the state of affairs to which they refer (1962: 46). He subsequently conceded that a strict dichotomy between the two was problematic (1962: 133), and focused instead on what he dubs locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (1962: 109). Whereas the performative/constative distinction is one between different kinds of utterances, the locutionary/illocutionary/perlocutionary distinction is among "different senses or dimensions of the 'use of a sentence' or of 'the use of language'," (1962: 109-10). While these are three different kinds of acts they all occur simultaneously in a given instance of language.

are at least deemed to complete the transformations with which they are concerned (1999: 114).

Rappaport notes that "Ritual is full of conventional utterances and acts which achieve conventional effects," (1999: 114). Examples include the conferring knighthood and declarations of peace which, if performed by the authorized persons and in the appropriate settings, are understood to bring about the conventional state of affairs to which they each pertain. However, not all conventional procedures that may be thought of as ritual bring about such conventional effects. In this regard Kalinga examples include the reading of omens in harvested rice that are an integral part of the seasonal *to'or* rituals, and the gleaning of crucial information about the failing health of an elderly person from the liver (*agtoy*) of a pig butchered in their honour. These *kaugalian*, or traditional practices, do not readily lend themselves as instances of performative acts.

Kalinga Examples that would more readily qualify as transformative, and performative, with respect to the people or settings involved include such traditions as the *ontad* birthing ritual (the tradition of providing a pig for a feast to celebrate the birth of a child and to protect mother and baby from sickness), and the *horcher* (the ritual involving the sacrifice of a native chicken undertaken to create a boundary outside the threshold of a house against which the spirit of a recently deceased family member cannot cross). Christian sacraments such as confirmation, holy matrimony, and the absolution of sin could equally be thought of as types of 'status change' rituals, as religious activities that bring about conventional states of affairs. The transubstantiation in the Eucharist from bread to the body of Christ can be taken as a performative insofar as its effect, that an object is transubstantiated, is taken up in or acknowledged by an officiant and a committed congregation. The act of receiving and consuming the Host, like many other religious ritual acts, can be understood at the meta-performative level.

Austin, moreover, goes on to develop a differently detailed analysis of utterances which do things in which he describes three dimensions or aspects of what he calls the "total speech-act in the total speech-situation", and these he proposes to call locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (1962: 148). Briefly, (1) 'locutionary acts' are those roughly equivalent to uttering certain sentences with a certain sense and reference, or 'meaning' in the traditional sense; (2) 'illocutionary acts' are those such as informing, ordering, warning, and so forth, and which are said to have a certain conventional 'force'; and (3) 'perlocutionary acts' are those which are the achieving of certain effects on an audience, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, surprising, or misleading, etcetera, (1962: 109, 121). Additionally

Austin describes three types of conventional effects with which illocutionary acts are bound up. One such effect is “securing uptake”, or bringing about the understanding of a locutionary act in an audience; another is “taking effect”, in the way that the naming of a ship brings about a conventional state of affairs; and a third is “inviting a response” from an audience in the way that offering invites receiving, or “an order invites the response of obedience and a promise that of fulfilment,” (1962: 116-18). In a related manner we could say that a gift given morally obligates the receiver not only to accept but to reciprocate (Mauss, 1954: 10-11, 63-64).

Austin distinguishes between the completion of an illocutionary act and all consequences thereafter, including as he does so the reactions of the listener within the total speech-act. Referring to perlocutionary acts Austin observes that “Saying something will often, or even normally [conventionally], produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of other persons,” (1962: 101). And of these ‘normal consequential effects’ on an audience, he further observes that the “perlocutionary act may be either the achievement of a perlocutionary object (to convince, to persuade) or the production of a [possibly unintended] perlocutionary sequel. Thus the act of warning may achieve its perlocutionary object of alerting and also have the perlocutionary sequel of alarming,” (1962: 118). That not all consequences of an utterance are intentional leads Austin to a further and crucial distinction, namely that “Illocutionary acts are conventional acts: perlocutionary acts are *not* conventional,” (1962: 121, original emphasis).

Austin’s observation has a significant bearing on whether or to what degree a performative or illocutionary act that is incorporated into a given ritual performance could be taken to achieve what it sets out to achieve conventionally. As Austin alludes to, an utterance or act can legitimately and only be performative if conventional procedures are understood to bring about conventional effects. Rappaport abstracts this concept and applies it to the notion of acceptance intrinsic to ritual performance, claiming that the proper enactment of ritual necessarily entails acceptance by participants on multiple levels. This acceptance, importantly, is not reliant on any inner conviction on the part of the ritual participants – although as Rappaport notes belief often can be involved – but only on a public commitment through ritual performance for which participants can later be held accountable. One of the consequences of acceptance is obligation and another is the affirmation of, among other things, the cosmological order. Moreover, none of these effects – acceptance, obligation, affirmation – are contingent upon the compliance of gods or spirits, although the ritual act itself may aim to propitiate them. Central to Rappaport’s arguments concerning Ultimate Sacred Postulates and the axiomatic principles that they sanctify is the related argument that

the enactment of ritual recurrently underscores these broader assertions according to which people interpret the events in the world around them and by which they shape their religious and social relations.

3.3 Kalinga transgression, punishment and cosmology

The understanding that people are judged and punished by forces other than human/social situates itself within, and is complemented by, a local socio-political milieu in which there is a distinct paucity at the village level of a substantial protocol for retributive justice. Tarlao no longer has any functioning *pangats*, or village leaders, to arbitrate internal disputes.³⁸ An elected position at the village level does exist, that of *barangay kapitan*, but this is effectively an administrative position tied in to municipal and provincial government, not one of any real authority for dispute settlement, and certainly not one with coercive power.³⁹ That said, while inter-village peace is by and large sustained through networks of *bodongs* or peace-pacts,⁴⁰ holding whole communities accountable for the actions of their residents, intra-village accord tends to be preserved, not through a governing body, but through moral codes, family alliances, and a general effort to avoid situations which may escalate to hostility. This is not to say that individuals are not obliged to follow particular codes of conduct, or that residents won't get their hackles up if individuals wrong them, or even that reparation/penalties will not be demanded of wrongdoers – all of these are in fact the case. Yet, there being no official system of secular reprimand for social or moral trespass, it makes sense that for many locals a transcendent Other, in a manner of speaking, help to fill this gap.

The important underlying notion that in Tarlao blame often falls on the victim of misfortune is reiterated in De Raedt's observations in northern Kalinga that "All evil, including illness, is conceived as having been caused by a sin (*lituk*) against the unseen [local spirits]," (1989: 283). He further states that in Buwaya "demons" or malignant spirits influence all aspects of social life, so that "whatever the problem may be, [people] are either faced with some trouble already or feel that some is threatening. It may be impending because of the forebodings of omens or because some sin has been committed, which will be followed by punishment.

³⁸ Barton gives ample description of the historical Kalinga rank of *pangat* (leader), a status a man was able to attain over a long period of successful headhunting, displays of bravery and dispute settling (1949: 147-163). Dozier describes American colonial efforts of the early 20th century to establish Kalinga regional units by artificially inflating the status of *pangat* to function as a representative to the Lieutenant-Governor, effectively undermining indigenous governance (1966: 38-40).

³⁹ De Raedt similarly states of northern Kalinga Buwaya society that it "does not recognize single leaders, but several people of more influence. One individual may occasionally be pointed out as having more influence and authority, but never power," (1989: 284).

⁴⁰ The *bodong* or peace pact is discussed in Ch II, sect 2.3.

Some kind of sin is always presumed to have preceded forebodings or a present evil,” (1989: 10).

De Raedt argues that there is a correlation between illness and local “concepts of the soul and the agents of the unseen. When one is ill, the demons have captured the soul. They may release it when a sacrifice is celebrated,” (1989: 11). The similarity is evident; illness in Buwaya is understood to be a result of transgressions against spirits who have as a consequence penalized people for their actions, paralleling the Tarlao understanding that local spirits or Apo Dios reprimands locals for immoral behaviour. Variations abound in the manifest way people in northern Kalinga ritually rectify strained relationships they have with malignant spirits. Chief among these is the confrontational and aggressive manner in which ritual participants in Buwaya vigorously strike gongs and shout loudly to “defeat” and “overcome” spirits (1989: 285-86). Reparatory ritual in Tarlao by contrast is quite restrained and subdued (examples to follow). But beyond the particularities, Buwaya ritual involving animal sacrifice appears to be similarly taken as a means by which locals resolve spiritually derived illness and ill-fortune, conditions ultimately understood to be retribution for some sort of wrongdoing.

There is a broader picture to be had with De Raedt’s northern Kalinga observations. He notes that “The Buwayas are aware that the effects of a sacrifice reach beyond the primary purposes for which it was celebrated,” (1989: 12). These effects include the sense of community accord that ritual participants are thought to achieve in successfully completing a ritual, and a certain positive ‘atmosphere’ that is thought to flow on to the production of rice for the season, both of which the Buwaya observe are lacking in neighbouring Kalinga regions where “sacrifices are no longer celebrated as often, nor with the same solemnity and participation as they used to be,” (*ibid.*). Similarly, as mentioned, one of Rappaport’s arguments concerning ritual enactment is that it recurrently establishes a conventional procedure for achieving particular effects; it continually re-establishes the conventions surrounding the effect to be achieved; and it affirms the divinity of the god or the power of the spirits who are thought to effect the desired ritual outcome, (1999: 125).

3.4 Spirits and reparatory sacrifice: the *mampisat* ritual

The Kalinga non-manifest world, indeterminate and amorphous, is an ever-present if subtle backdrop to village life, and awareness of the existence of spirits of various types plays a part in the way most Tarlao locals conceive of their surrounds and the way they act in it. These rarely visible beings – *achogwa* or spirits of the deceased; *aran*, a general class of spirits; *e’eria*, a type of spirit people; *miratoy* or dangerous, malignant spirits; and *pira’ing*, another

sort of spirit people – make up a broad, loosely defined supernatural realm.⁴¹ Spirits tend to be for the most part peripheral to everyday life. A common local conviction is that contact with a spirit, a spirit's touch, will bring about pain, strain, swelling, irritation or some sort of unwellness to the part of the body that may have been touched. Put another way, attributing this sort of sickness to parts of the body to a transcendent Other is one way such sickness is interpreted, through a cosmological lens. As discussed in chapter V, spirits of newly deceased persons, during their funeral wake and for several days after, pose one of the greatest threats to people, and great care is taken to follow all the prescriptions involved. Relatives rarely speak the names of deceased family members as it is thought that the deceased's spirit (*achogwa*) might hear and be drawn to the sound of its name, and might inadvertently come into contact with people, leaving them sick as a result. This is of particular concern for young children whose physical stamina, resistance and recovery are not the same as adults. As taken up in chapter IV, it is also possible for a deceased relative's spirit to pass on special knowledge of healing or ritual through dreams or visions.

But it is when people attribute misfortune and malady to spirits that they and their actions most prominently come to the fore in quotidian village life. As outlined in the opening chapter, serious accidents and ailments that are deemed spirit-related are implicitly understood to be the fault of the afflicted person themselves, because of some suspected wrongdoing on their part. Although they would tend not to say so directly to the person or family in concern, locals commonly conceive of 'spirit-related sickness' (persistent sickness typically resistant to non-spiritual medicine such as pharmaceuticals) as a form of deserved punishment (*chusa*) from a displeased or offended transcendent Other. The ritual procedures required to ameliorate strained and dangerous relations with such spirits – and concomitantly the strained relations with the offender's neighbours and others effected by the offensive action – is arguably a form of reparation for the offender's wrongdoing.

Peter is one of the senior members of the community, and one of my primary informants. He informed me during one of our 'culture lessons' that Tarlao village is populated with both people and spirit-people. The latter also live around the village proper, and up into the forested areas that spread over Tarlao's extensive territorial boundaries. Wide-eyed, Peter once told me of the time years ago when he was working alone in his rice fields and trying to start a cooking fire to make his lunch when he made out what he took to be a line of people moving along a path in the near distance. Wanting to borrow matches he called out and moved to approach them but, as one of the strangers turned around, he was shocked to see a

⁴¹ Dozier (1966) notes something similar of his northern and central Kalinga groups, in that "non-human spirits who bring illness, death, or other misfortune are variously designated and not too clearly conceptualized," (1966: 160).

skull instead of a face. Peter froze while the group continued on their way silently. He said he had no other explanation other than that these were *e'eria*, one of many frightening types of spirits locals bring into their narratives and histories. Perfecto and Lourdes's teenage son, Bernabus, meanwhile, liked to tease me with stories of the 'white lady', the wandering female spirit, perhaps of a foreigner, who locals say was killed many years ago in a holdup on one of the nearby mountain roads and whose vehicle was rolled over the edge. Popular legend has it that to this day she still haunts that stretch of road by night. Earlier that year when a young Tarlao girl, seeing what she later said was like a flash of light, fainted one afternoon in the school yard, the rumour quickly spread that the 'white lady' was responsible.⁴²

On several occasions Peter spoke of the invisible people known as *pira'ing*, spirit-folk who he imagines look and dress much the same as ordinary Kalinga, in contrast to other amorphous spirits like *aran* which people tend to describe as evil or frightening and who can on rare occasions be seen late at night as a form of hovering light above houses. *Pira'ing*, on the other hand, pound rice, tend their pigs, and mostly keep to themselves. Locals have experience of *pira'ing* through occasional noises that these spirit-people make late at night, or by something like a feeling of a nearby 'presence' as *pira'ing* pass by on one of the narrow pathways, or, on rare occasions, through sightings locals have of them. Peter explained that spirit-people such as *pira'ing* are, like other aspects of Kalinga culture that are gradually receding, less common nowadays than in his father's day. With unconcealed dissatisfaction he said that this is so because people these days are less conscientious about keeping all the rituals. This was a standing complaint Peter shared with many others who spoke to me of (as they saw it) the displacement of traditional Kalinga culture and declining values in the younger generation.

Yet Peter was convinced spirits still remained and that we need to be careful. He spoke of three places in and around the village where *pira'ing* are known to live. On the west side of the village there are two steeply placed clusters of houses, or *purok*, one a little higher up on the slope than the other. Juan and Maria's house, together with the house I occupied and several others make up the lower group of residences, while Agnes's church, Perfecto and Lourdes's house, Gasper and his brothers' houses, and several others make up the upper group. A sheer cliff of some 20 or 25 metres, overgrown with vegetation, separates the two neighbouring groups. Partially covered and set high in the rock face is a dark and cave-like recess. People say with lowered voices that this is the entrance to one of the houses of the

⁴² Mitchell and Mitchell, working in the Visayan Islands, central Philippines, also mention a type of *engkanto* (supernatural entity) locals refer to as *puti nga babaye* or 'white lady' and described as the ghost of a woman, possibly killed in a traffic accident, who floats through the air in a long white dress (2011: 118).

pirating, who as mentioned mostly live secluded lives but can and do interject into human affairs when they have been disturbed or offended in some way.

One such incident occurred during the early months of my residence in Tarlao when a group of a dozen or more college students, some of whom had relatives in the village, arrived unannounced on my doorstep bringing with them their own store-bought rice, vegetables, canned goods and bottles of alcohol. Situated close to neighbouring houses, and within earshot of the aforementioned cliff wall, the unusually large, two-storey wooden and tin-roofed building, vacant that year except for myself, was one of only two places that could accommodate a sizable group of visitors to the village. The other was the multipurpose building on the Anglican Church grounds. But the spacious house I occupied (colloquially known as 'the clinic' because of its former and original function in the early 1980s as a medical facility and dispensary) was the place of choice as a few of the group were related to the delegated care-takers, my friends Pabro and Tessie.⁴³ In any case, my composed morning routine of transcribing and revising fieldnotes was suspended that particular weekend as the house – together with the general quiet and harmony of the village – was given over to exuberant teenagers, gin and late night revelry. I felt bad for my neighbours who I knew were customarily up at dawn to start their day. Oblivious, my teenage guests strummed guitar on the balcony, poured drinks and partied late both nights.

In the small hours of the morning on the second night an unattended candle in one of the upstairs rooms set the place ablaze, momentarily trapping two young boys inside. Panic spread in the darkness and many of the teenagers fled. Sound asleep at the time in one of the rooms, I awoke to chaos, flames spreading along the plastic-coated electric cables running along the rafters above me. I had the sense to snatch up a few valuables, abandon the rest, and retreat from the billowing smoke. Neighbours with flashlights scrambled to help, madly throwing basins of water at the fire. One fellow charged into the blaze to rescue my clothes, bedding, and belongings. Eventually the flames were doused, leaving many of us shaken and smudged with ash. The next morning, subdued, the group of students left quietly, guiltily it seemed, leaving myself and concerned others to deal with the aftermath. Fortunately the house still stood, the damage restricted to only two of the four upstairs rooms.

Agnes, with utter disbelief on her face, was among those who rushed to help. House fires, I was to learn, are a rarity in the village, and something people take very seriously. It was a miracle no one was hurt that night, but as with all such serious events in the village the fire

⁴³ The house belongs to my contacts David and Petra Durrance of Victoria, British Columbia (Tessie's aunt, who married a Canadian and migrated many years ago) who graciously allowed me to stay there over the course of my fieldwork in 2005 and 2008.

and the damage it caused was the centre of troubled conversation for some time to come. Of particular concern was the cost of repairs to the building, to which I and one or two of the house guests had offered to contribute. There was another concern though. In Tarlao people are convinced such incidents are not 'accidents' but that they come about subsequent to someone's wrongdoing. Days later, recalling with me the fire and the rowdy college students, Agnes summed up the near tragedy with a jerk of her chin toward the cliff face saying, "*Pira'ing*". Others conveyed a similar sentiment, that the revelry that night, the social discordance, affected everyone, people and spirits, and that the fire was retribution.

Incidents resulting in serious injury or other misfortune and understood to be steeped in 'bad' circumstances involving the spirit-world are also understood to be a continual threat and are likely to reoccur periodically unless ritually treated to address the underlying problem. This as mentioned earlier is often taken to be some form of unresolved tension that angered spirits have with particular individuals. Through the ruckus of that weekend, the house and anyone living there had drawn the ire of *pira'ing*, and Perfecto, concerned for my safety, was anxious that I not sleep there again until he and Peter and a few others had organized to do the *mampisat nan maru* – ritual activity involving the butchering of chickens intended to address the negative consequences of spirit-world intervention.

Consistent with the notion that ritual efficacy is partly predicated on conformity of practice,⁴⁴ locals say that market-bought white hens are not used for indigenous spirits, that the only ones acceptable are Kalinga 'native' chickens (tough and wiry, black and orange forest fowls, now widely domesticated). After plucking free some neck feathers to make way for the blade, and then letting the birds' spasms subside, one of the men took the dead hens by the legs upstairs to the smoke-blackened rooms. He knocked them against the walls and doorframe of the burned rooms, acknowledging any *pira'ing* present and indicating to them that the chickens were killed for them, requesting that they should cause no further trouble but leave peacefully. The blood-marking here and there about the house remained apparent for weeks to come, visible for spirits and others concerned to see and to know that the conventional reparatory sacrifice had been made. Here the single ritual act constituted reparation both to offended spirits as well as to families of surrounding households who were also affected by the discordance of that weekend.

The intention locals have in butchering a domestic animal helps distinguish ritual from a non-ritual social act, as the basic procedures involved in action intended to placate spirits

⁴⁴ Rappaport, echoing Austin's discussion of 'infelicities' (1962: 14-15), notes that "ritual performatives can misfire" if not "performed by authorized people with respect to eligible persons or entities under proper circumstances in accordance with proper procedures," (1999: 116).

and that which, for example, accompanies an amiable get-together can appear similar. For instance, Tarlao's youngest Ricardo⁴⁵, an affable chap in his early twenties, came around one morning a few days after the *mampisat* to borrow the old guitar. He was quick to pick up on the charcoal cooking-fire remains and dried blood on the downstairs cement floor, asking with a knowing grin if I had made *palanus* here recently – serving chicken to honour a house guest with a special family meal⁴⁶ or, as this Ricardo was implying, making *polutant* (appetizer) to accompany a gin-drinking session with friends. There is a general ban on alcohol in the village but this does not extend to celebrations such as funerals, weddings and births, where offering copious amounts of locally brewed sugarcane wine (*wayas*, or *basi*), often fortified further with Filipino gin, is as integral to the event as the accompanying animal butchering. Despite this ban, however, some men find ways to have an occasional quite get-together. I smiled and shook my head, telling this fellow we had made *mampisat nan maru tan nascob* that night, butchering chickens on account of the burnt rooms. On hearing this, typical of Kalinga youth, he became less interested. That he mistook the remnants of our ritual for something other than a spirit-world transaction is perhaps both a comment on the lack of elaborateness of local ritual procedure and an indication that in ritual the intention is of no less importance than the content.

Following local traditions, there were two chickens butchered for the *mampisat*. As Peter later explained to me, the first chicken is killed to acknowledge that there is an existing unfortunate situation (illness, injury, etc.), while the second is to 'send' this unwanted circumstance away to an unspecified 'elsewhere' (*aschi*). He did not know where exactly, but just away from the house and surrounds. In such situations it is inadvisable to kill a third chicken as the situation being dispersed would then return to afflict people again. In essence the first chicken is 'for here', the second is to send a particular situation 'elsewhere', the third would recall that same situation, the fourth disperse it again, the fifth recall it, and so on.⁴⁷ Locals have two related areas of concern in situations like this; first, there is the temporarily

⁴⁵ Coincidentally, there were at least five Ricardos in the village. Many locals had an English name which they used with foreigners, as well as several other familial names and nicknames.

⁴⁶ Dozier similarly notes that in Poswoy, northern Kalinga, "A *palanos* is a feast which is essentially social in character and the animals slaughtered for the occasion are not considered as sacrificial offerings. A harvest group, a work party, or the visit of friends are occasions for a *palanos*," (1966: 142).

⁴⁷ That the dispersing of an undesirable situation like this is linked to the avoidance of the number two, and of even numbers in general, is a notion tied into Kalinga mythology and accounts of the Kalinga deity Kabunyan and his instructions to the first Tarlao people in the nascent days of the village (Ch IV, sect 4.6). It also finds a parallel in Kalinga funerals in which the deceased's life is somehow cut short; in such cases entombment is held on the second or fourth day partly so the undesirable circumstances which led to this type of death would be sent 'elsewhere', and not happen again in the community. Whereas funerals celebrating a long successful life where the deceased has had many grandchildren are held over three days so this felicitous situation would return, that it would be the same for all in attendance when their time comes (also Ch V, sect 5.3).

offended *pira'ing* (who are not normally known to be malignant but, like ordinary people, can be spiteful given reason), and second, the unresolved 'bad' situation (the fire and the potential for more fire or other serious 'accidents'). While the one chicken is intended to placate spirits, duly requesting of them not to take any further action against the household, the other is added to dispatch the negativity surrounding the incident. Both address the same unwelcome situation, and moreover through the one ritual event, the *mampisat*. Here, incorporated into a single Kalinga ritual act, are two distinct yet complementary procedures – propitiation and expiation.

3.5 Propitiation and expiation in ritual sacrifice

Implicit in Peter's explanation is a particular form of 'moral acknowledgment'. Namely, that the cause of the misfortune being attended to with the *mampisat* involves to some extent the people most effected by the misfortune. But in addition to this there is the notion that there is 'something' to be sent away. Early analytical scholarship on expiation provides one means of addressing this aspect of ritual. To expiate an unwanted element like spirit-induced sickness, impurity, sin, or a sense of foreboding knowing that spirits are angered, is in essence to expel it. Alternative approaches in classic anthropological literature have been to conceive of sacrifice in terms of gift-giving/homage paid to gods (Tylor⁴⁸), or of propitiation/'communion' with the supernatural (Robertson Smith⁴⁹). But regardless of whether ritual involving sacrifice is seen as propitiating, entreating or repelling spiritual forces, it nonetheless has a substantial effect on (at least) the religious and moral state of the participants of ritual – which is an argument forwarded by Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss (1964 [1898]) in their early work on understanding sacrifice.

In their *essai* on the nature and function of sacrifice, Hubert and Mauss's primary argument is that ritual sacrifice is as much about expiration of various 'evils' as it is about communion with gods. They argue that due to a certain ambiguity of the "mechanism of sacrifice", both can equally be present in the one ritual process (1964: 60). Drawing on ancient Vedic and

⁴⁸ Edward Tylor (1889) proposed an evolutionary model for sacrifice which progressed from "practical reality to formal ceremony" beginning with the notion that "sacrifice is a gift made to a deity as if [it] were a man," (quoted in Valeri, 1985: 62); and from there to the notion of sacrifice as 'homage' to the gods with no expectation for a return; and finally to the concept of sacrifice as 'abnegation' in which there is no benefit to the god, only loss for the person sacrificing (Valeri, 1985: 63). Hubert and Mauss note that in Tylor's theory sacrifice evolves from gift-giving to sacrifice of oneself, but that this in itself is not an innovative analysis (1964: 2).

⁴⁹ William Robertson Smith (1894) analyzed sacrifice as 'communion' between humans and the supernatural achieved through the consumption of the totemic animal of which the god was incarnate. This communal meal assimilated the god to themselves and vice versa, bound members of the community together, and was the sole reason for sacrificial slaughter. For Hubert and Mauss however, the "great flaw" in Robertson Smith's theory, which they counter with one of their own, is that he reduces all forms of sacrifice to 'communion', even concluding that "expiation is only the re-establishment of the broken covenant," (1964: 3).

Semitic texts for their analysis, Hubert and Mauss define sacrifice as a “religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned,” (1964: 13, emphasis suppressed). Taking these characteristics in turn, a sacrifice can be said to be religious to the extent that the protagonist, or “sacrifier” (the person or group sponsoring, if not specifically performing, the sacrifice and who will be principal among those to receive its benefits), entreats or otherwise engages with gods or spirits. The sacrificial object (typically an animal, but which on occasions can be grain, vegetables etc., and in extreme cases humans) is a ‘victim’ insofar as it is killed or otherwise “destroyed” during the climax of the ceremony in a manner befitting that ritual – in other words it is “sacrificed” (1964: 12). This destruction of the victim – through which Hubert and Mauss surmise a kind of “religious energy” is released (*ibid.*) – distinguishes an object of sacrifice from non-sacrificial votive offerings.⁵⁰ Moreover, the desired end of the ritual, to effect a “religious” change in the sacrifier, seems achievable only through the killing of the consecrated object.

Critical to Hubert and Mauss’s understanding of the effects achieved through sacrifice are the extended ritual processes through which a victim becomes increasingly consecrated, that is, for these authors, the action of passing “from the common into the religious domain,” (1964: 9). Importantly, though, the effects of consecration are not limited to the object of sacrifice.

In sacrifice [the effect of] consecration extends beyond the thing consecrated; among other objects, it touches the moral person who bears the expenses of the ceremony. The devotee who provides the victim which is the object of the consecration is not, at the completion of the operation, the same as he was at the beginning. He has acquired a religious character which he did not have before, or has rid himself of an unfavourable character with which he was affected; he has raised himself to a state of grace or has emerged from a state of sin. In either case he has been religiously transformed.

(1964: 9-10)

⁵⁰ Valeri (1985) observes a certain inconsistency in Hubert and Mauss’s *Essai* regarding two overlapping but non-coinciding definitions of sacrifice – the first being sacrifice as oblation (essentially a Tylorian view, presupposing a transcendent Other would act as receiver), the second being sacrifice as mediation between sacred and profane domains. Valeri notes that – subscribing as they would have to the Durkheimian position that ‘sacredness’ is achievable without recourse to belief in ‘spiritual beings’ – Hubert and Mauss’s notion of sacrifice as mediation makes it “a phenomena of greater generality than the oblation”, but conversely by defining sacrifice as oblation they limit it to a form of gift exchange with numina (1985: 65).

Thus, in a process Hubert and Mauss term *sacralization* (i.e., communion), the sacrificer is understood by participants to somehow absorb a state of sanctity from the consecrated victim. Conversely, in other rituals, and in a process they term *desacralization* (i.e., expiation), a state of sin, or sickness, or both is taken to proceed from the sacrificer to the victim, and with it eliminated through sacrifice (1964: 56). That these two states (purity/impurity) “could be the occasion for the same sacrificial procedure, in which the elements are not only identical, but arranged in the same order and moving in the same direction,” is for these authors alone a remarkable fact (1964: 58). Yet additionally, as they go on to argue, both of these effects can be achievable in one and the same sacrificial procedure (1964: 58-60). Moreover, they state their analysis is not limited to this type of individual action or “narrow purpose” of sacrifice (1964: 97), but to the broader processes of sacralization, where sacrifice itself appears as “a particular ramification of the system of consecration,” (1964: 98).

Latent in Hubert and Mauss’s conception of a ‘system of consecration’ is a notion which comes close to the Kalinga idea of *chusa* (taken as divine or other-worldly judgement/retribution for wrongdoing); that is, the sacrificer in expiation rituals finds themselves in a ‘compromised’ situation (suffering divinely-attributed misfortune) due to some prior transgression on their part. Such a person is said to acquire impurity by a breach of religious laws, or that because of particular errors in ritual procedure he or she is “punished by misfortune or physical hurt,” (1964: 53). Ultimately though for Hubert and Mauss it is the release through sacrifice of a somewhat ambiguous “religious energy” (1964: 12) which achieves religious change specifically for and confined to ritual participants. This differs from the situation in Kalinga on at least two counts. Firstly, the ‘effect’ achieved through these Kalinga rituals is not limited to change occurring within a person, but includes and often emphasizes change to the relationship between a person and a transcendent Other, and between a person and members of the society (the great majority of whom are not involved in the actual ritual). And secondly, at a more rudimentary level, no one I spoke to in Tarlao claims there to be a ‘spirit’ or ‘spiritual force’ residing in animals and ‘released’ upon killing them. As Peter, Perfecto and many other Tarlao locals have made explicit, only humans have *achogwa*.

Returning to the evening of the *mampisat*, in contrast to the quiet moment of blood-marking and brief placating of spirits, our small group squatted amiably downstairs in a loose circle around the light given off by a few burning pinewood sticks (there was no functioning electricity in the village during most of my fieldwork that year) and enjoyed the cooked chicken with rice and cups of broth. Peter, speaking loudly with his mouth full, as is his wont

when he is in good spirits, encouraged me to take another piece. He had told me once that in Kalinga spirit-people also join in the meal, but do not consume the meat killed for them. Rather it is the smell of cooking meat which spirits savour. I remember Perfecto on another occasion, crouching in his yard by a pot of boiling chicken pieces, drew my attention to the rising steam, indicating that this is what he imagined the spirits enjoy because they have no (corporeal) mouths for eating. After the meal these fellows bid me goodnight and filed out. Perfecto in turn seemed satisfied that protocol had been followed and that it would be safe for me to sleep in the house again. Had the *pira'ing* not been satisfied with the *mampisat* we would have learned of the fact first hand with the occurrence of the next 'accident' at the house.

Moreover, not only were the spirits expected to respond appropriately to sacrifice, but being the protagonist (*sacrifiant*) of the *mampisat* there was an unspoken expectation of me to maintain a certain manner of conduct from that time on, namely to refrain from hosting any further raucous gatherings late at night. As mentioned above, Rappaport in his approach to ritual argues that there is a necessary acceptance of ritual's pre-established codes – and in the case of religious ritual, often including moral codes of behaviour – in the participation of the ritual act. Obligation becomes an effect of acceptance, prompting Rappaport to suggest that morality in this way begins with acceptance (1999: 123). Thus the subtle yet undeniable obligation to abide by particular local norms and social codes was, with Perfecto, Peter and the other men as my witnesses, in effect the very thing I was implicitly accepting as I participated in that night's *mampisat*. If the purpose of the *mampisat* was to make reparation to offended spirits, intrinsic to my participation in the ritual was a self-acknowledgement of involvement in the offence, as well as an acceptance of the locally understood connection between the social and spiritual worlds, and a consequent obligation to thereafter assume a little more responsibility when hosting a younger crowd at the house.

As illustrated above, individuals themselves are often understood to be implicated in their own misfortune insofar as social conduct counter to the general harmony of the community is understood to eventually run afoul of a transcendent Other, who in response metes out this-worldly retribution (*chusa*). The *karu* reparatory ritual described below differs in that it is not undertaken in response to existing sickness, accident or human tragedy, but to the *threat* of such misfortune, not yet occurred but predicted to do so in light of the appearance of an omen bird. This is a small bird understood to be sent by Apo Dios in response to a family's moral failings. Related to this exploration of expiation and propitiation in ritual, the following section re-engages the notion of Austinian performatives and Rappaportian meta-performatives.

3.6 Omen birds, retribution and ritual reparation: the *karu* ritual

Ritual resolution required for spirit-world associated events and circumstances which locals consider most serious requires an activity called *karu*, a sacrifice of nine native chickens and a pig (*mampisat as himpuru whe'ag*).⁵¹ The *karu* involves the largest number of animals a family will need to butcher for a single ritual event and is quite costly to a household in terms of depletion of domestic resources. In 2005, for example, one of my informants, Gasper, undertook the *karu* for his ten year old daughter. At boarding school in the urban lowlands, she was a classmate and constant companion of another young girl who was tragically run over and killed in a road accident. Concerned for the safety of their own daughter, he and his wife sent for their girl to come back home until some of the tension and accusations of who was at fault and whether or not the incident would spark tribal war had dissipated. With his daughter safely back home Gasper undertook the *karu* in an effort to protect her from the deceased girl's spirit, who it is normally thought might seek out her former playmate, and in doing so put the living girl's own spirit at risk of being pulled over into the spirit-world. I was included among the many family members and neighbours invited for the afternoon get-together and meal following the *karu*.

On a more recent occasion Nelson's old blue jeepney seized up just after it had taken off with a full contingent of passengers heading into the township one morning. The winding dirt road as it climbs out of the village cuts along the side of a hill with one edge of the road open to the valley below. Something in the engine must have blown and the vehicle lost power and rolled backwards for some 30 or 40 feet coming to rest only after grating along the side of the hill. People were shaken, some were injured. An elderly man who was riding "rooftop" received bad lacerations to his face and was taken to Bontoc hospital for treatment. That put regular transport in and out of the village on indefinite hold until costly repairs could be done to the vehicle, but also until locals were satisfied that relevant spirit-related concerns had been properly addressed. Nelson later told me that even though it wasn't a part of his tradition (he had married into the village from an urban area to the south) he and some of the passengers pooled chickens together and held a *karu* up around the accident site. He said that without this Kalinga *ugali* many locals would be reluctant to ride in his jeepney and his business would suffer.

⁵¹ That the drama of a house-fire which threatened lives and mobilized many in the community into swift action warranted only a two-chicken sacrifice seems disproportionate in comparison to the *karu* example given for the appearance of an omen bird. I can only imagine that because the sole occupant of the house was a foreigner (me), unaccustomed to attending to the ritual protocol, that these men took pity and generously performed the *mampisat* on my behalf, and at their expense. A local family may have in fact opted for the *karu* in response to a house fire. Of importance here though is that an attempt was made at propitiation.

A *karu* is typically carried out by the family in concern and held outside their house at a suitable place for butchering animals. Typically residents tend to go about it as they do virtually all other ritual procedures in the village, with little discernable outward expression. Jules De Raedt in his monograph *Kalinga Sacrifice* (1989) comments on the northern Kalinga group with whom he worked, the Buaya, as having quite elaborate ritual sacrifices, and that this "is not so in the rest of Kalinga. A cline southward can be observed with progressively less elaboration," (1989: 1). As it turns out, De Raedt had spent a year residing in Tarlao (southern Kalinga) in the early 1970s, the house-guest of school principal Corazon and her husband, but was singularly unimpressed with the "scant" exhibition of ritual procedure in the village. His research of this period remains unpublished, perhaps because the more obvious and elaborate indigenous ritual he had found in the north of the province proved more appealing. While not disputing that Tarlao ritual can be restrained in visual performance, I find it surprising that De Raedt had somehow overlooked the complexities of the relationships Tarlao locals have with spirits, of which ritual procedures involving parts of the body of sacrificed animals are a significant component.

A specific configuration of action is needed if the *karu* is properly to be the *karu* – similar to the way that other Kalinga rituals like the *ontad*, *tankil* and *pupipus* are to achieve what they set out to achieve for newborns, young initiates and the terminally ill. The *karu* requires a particular composition of animals and proper procedure (appropriate blood-smearing, display of feathers, etc.) if homes, vehicles and people themselves are to be safeguarded against the perils of angered spirits. As Peter explained it, each set of three chickens in the *karu* is intended to bring about and maintain a harmonious state of affairs for the household. This notion that the number three is associated with or effects positive, beneficial circumstances has its direct parallel in the number of days over which a deceased relative is mourned before they are entombed – three days for the celebration of a long life and leaving behind many children and grandchildren, something all attending the funeral would equally wish for themselves and their loved ones; conversely, two, or four days of mourning are reserved for a life tragically cut short by such things as disease, accidents or ill intention. The grouping of three chickens in sacrifice is here understood as desirable, and the aggregation of nine is considered that much more efficacious, while the social 'weight' of a pig (value, prestige, amount of meat) categorically completes the affair as the tenth sacrifice.⁵²

⁵² The explanation that the number three and groups of three are important for addressing misfortune seems to contradict the use of the even number, two, for addressing misfortune in the *mampisat*. Here Peter's (over) analysis may be misleading, as the efficacious number for the *karu* is ten.

The number ten appears in various contexts as a sort of culminating number, sometimes, as in this case, capping off successive sets of three. Similarly, the tenth day marks the culmination of the *ontad* birthing rituals where a family celebrates by killing a pig and inviting relatives to join the meal. In another example, the erstwhile *lusong* ritual, related to the group of *to'or* rice rituals still practiced today, was one in which omens are sought by a gifted practitioner who in a particular rice terrace carefully plants nine rice shoots in two rows, perfectly upright in the night's stillness. The tenth piece, a *perchos* (a length of stick-grass tied into knot which is used, among other things, to defend against spirits), completes the set. Early the following morning he would return to read premonitions into the direction of the slant of the rice shoots, if any. For the most part, numbers of things or actions are felicitous or taboo according to their numerical character, odd or even, and ultimately these are derived from divine dictate, from an existing oral canon of stipulations and conventions concerning the nature of the Kalinga spirit-world.

The following vignette illustrates some of the religious significance, social indebtedness and basic procedures involved in a *karu* ritual. On one of my regular visits to Pabro and Tessie's house on the west side of the village I noticed that their neighbour, Daniel, his adult son Ronnie, and his son-in-law Jun were squatting around a batch of chickens. It was early evening and they were out front of the large galvanized-iron and wood house they were building to replace Daniel's considerably smaller and aged house, now torn down. The new house, set aloft on reinforced concrete pillars, sat at the furthest edge of that particular cluster of houses (*pureok*), open to a vista of descending rice fields, but exposed to the full brunt of the gales that blow up from the valley during typhoon season. Needless to say the structure needed to be sound. Weeks into the construction, the three men had by that stage completed the roof and had the back and side walls set in place, but the entire front side of the house was open to nature and, as I found out, that particular afternoon an *echao* bird had flown inside.

An *echao*, or 'omen bird', is a type of sparrow-sized, reddish bird sometimes seen in and around the village, and because it is widely understood to bring communication from the non-manifest world it is something that people take quite seriously. Corazon, the Tarlao elementary school principal, satisfied much of my initial curiosity about the *echao*. "The bird is not evil, it's a big help to people," Corazon stressed. "The *echao* brings messages from Apo Dios." She emphasized that Apo Dios, ever-concerned for the welfare of Tarlao people, provides divine providence by sending the omen bird to people with warnings of ill-consequences for particular courses of action, or predictions of good fortune in their endeavours. Some people would listen out for the *echao*'s distinctive 'pip-pip-pip' along the

dirt road which winds through the open hills on their way down to the township. They might do this when taking woven baskets to sell in other villages or market places, or when taking someone to hospital, or even during times of inter-village conflict when stealing out to attack an enemy. Elder members of the village tend to be the ones best able to decipher the bird's messages; a rapid chirp or one more measured, a left or right tending flight path, or other subtleties in the *echao's* behaviour are thought to be indicators either of a person's impending success or else as a warning for them to turn around and return home, to start out afresh the next day.

Locals become anxious at the sight of an *echao* in and around the community, as happened one afternoon with an interlocutor of mine, Albert. He is Peter's nephew, and like Peter, can expound at length on Tarlao's culture, history and various *ugali*. Married with young kids, Albert is an easygoing Tarlao fellow in his early 30s. He had years ago relocated to the lowlands near Tabuk, and had since cultivated a fashionably long fingernail on his pinkie finger partly to show he was now an urbanite and no longer a labouring Kalinga farmer. This 'distancing' from the village and his former life was to him a measure of his success. On one of his visits back to Tarlao, he and I were sitting in a neighbour's yard sipping rice-coffee between the 'culture lessons' he was confidently doling out to me when a small red bird swooped near us, chirped loudly then flittered off. Albert's mood darkened visibly, unusual for him, and he fell quiet. Troubled, he asked me if I had just seen that omen bird, the one he was convinced had come directly for him. I asked him about the bird, what it might mean, but he was reluctant to go into it further. I later learnt Albert had connected the *echao* sighting with potential trouble back at his home in Tabuk, and he felt a need to return at once. That evening he had conferred with his uncle just to be sure he hadn't misinterpreted the *echao's* actions. Nelson's jeepney was scheduled to leave the next morning and Albert left with it.

In keeping with the state of affairs associated with a *karu*, namely that it is performed as reparation, there is a similar moral implication associated with the *echao*. As Corazon explained, "People say the *echao* enters houses where family members are not behaving well, for example in the case of stealing, which is something Apo Dios does not like. The *echao* enters these houses to remind the family members to stop their wrongdoings." Although not a common occurrence in Tarlao (I knew of only two such *echao* 'visitations' that year), people take it very seriously if an omen bird flies through an open door or window and then out again, taken to be a warning which if not attended to would bring about dreadful misfortune.

Returning to Daniel and his new house, that evening I stopped to watch as the three men set about the *karu*. Jun, showing obvious unfamiliarity with his task, awkwardly held the open neck of a struggling chicken over a stainless steel kitchen bowl. As he worked, Jun had the demeanour of someone not fully committed to what he was doing, but doing it all the same. "It's the *ugali* here," he said in response to my questioning look, "in my place [a province to the south] we don't do this." Daniel meanwhile was stoic, somewhat distant, whittling a few sticks that he was working with down to sharp points. Ronnie held one of the dead and drained hens outstretched by beak and claws over a small fire, singeing off the feathers to prepare it for cooking later. His two boisterous sons and a young neighbour boy watched on.

Similar to birth rituals and baptisms, there would be meat for the family for days to come. Dissimilar to such rituals, the *karu tan echao* is not a celebratory event but something of a more sombre nature, and I imagine Ronnie was acutely aware of the fact as he set about his work head down. Here there is a poignant moral corollary – that someone in the family deserves the *echao*'s visit because of his or her wrongdoing. This sentiment is magnified through the penchant locals have for talking about others' ordinary misdeeds and everyday failings behind their backs, talk which falls somewhere between good natured jest and a kind of ill-intentioned gossip (*chismis*). This being the prevailing attitude, it may be difficult for a family who reluctantly finds themselves the centre of the kind of attention that the *echao* brings to avoid feeling that others might be watching and thinking ill of them.

Of course it would be difficult for neighbours not to know what is going on when a *karu* is underway as people so rarely kill chickens for any purpose, let alone that number. It is also next to impossible to stifle a stuck pig. If a family was lacking a pig they would get even a juvenile pig from relatives or neighbours as the format of the *karu*, the quantity and type of animals sacrificed, must be complete if Apo Dios is to be respected and the *echao* and the portent of misfortune are to be repelled. Tessie, a young mother of seven and Daniel's niece and neighbour, aware that Daniel was doing a *karu* and wanting to help, brought over one of her small hens to add to his lot, bringing the number up to nine. Tessie told me if the family doing the *karu* was in need relatives or sometimes neighbours would donate chickens, but generally only close relatives join in the eating afterward.

As an aside, Tessie had sent over her two young boys to fetch me from where the men were butchering chickens that evening, perhaps anxious that if I hung around there too long Ronnie's wife Erlinda would call me to eat with them. There seemed to be a slight rivalry between the two women which I really knew nothing of, but as Tessie considered me part of her family, it would not have been politic of me to dine with her neighbours. Being able to

feed someone enables one to claim a slight victory over them, gaining temporary ground in small and shifting social hierarchies. I wasn't surprised when the next time Erlinda saw me she scolded me for not coming to eat with them that night, saying that there was so much food and that they were expecting me. Regardless, knowing Tessie's generosity, giving up that hen was, I am sure, an unassuming act of empathy. But, in the language of *utang* or debt relations,⁵³ Tessie's gesture also indebted in a small way Daniel's family to hers, reaffirming the relationship the two households have with each other.

Later that evening Daniel took the dead and mostly drained young pig upstairs into the empty house, knocking it to the walls and posts and dropping a little blood as he went. Shortly after that, standing a little apart from us and facing the valley as dusk fell, he spoke in a lowered voice. At that point Ronnie indicated to me that I shouldn't disturb, that this was not a time for research questions, and I put my note book and biro away. I later learned that it was usual to acknowledge Apo Dios who had sent the *echao*, to say that the *karu* had been done, and to ask that the *echao* not be sent again. Implicit in the acknowledgement is that the family member in question should also stop doing whatever it was that brought the *echao* in the first place. By the following afternoon I saw that one of the pig's ears and its tail-tip had been stuck on slender horizontal sticks positioned off the upper balcony, as were a perpendicular row of a dozen or more black and orange wing feathers and several chicken feet. As added protection and an emphatic statement, a rooster's head with its beak aggressively jammed open was also spiked onto a stick and jutted prominently off the balcony of the partially built house. Jun learned that the cocked rooster's head was erected to scare the *echao* off if it tried to revisit.

The *echao*'s appearance is an initial warning – crisis only occurs if the *echao* returns to the house a second time, and sees that the *karu* was not performed. To circumvent this, evidence (feathers, beaks, blood) needs to be visible to show that the *karu* was in fact performed. Over and above the act of taking the life of a hen or a pig is the act of proving to spirits, after the fact, that one has done so. Hanging horned *carabao* skulls by a nail off the front post of a house; tucking a hunk of pig hair into a *runo* fence near a butchering site; dangling native chicken feathers above a blacksmith's forge; or, in a different scenario, dancing with gongs that have enemy jaw-bones for handles – here and there in the village people leave ample testimony of the deeds to which they often want to draw attention, including but not exclusively spirit-world attention. It is often also of social consequence that an individual carries out the expected life-cycle rituals, and those for making reparation, as neighbours are

⁵³ I discuss *utang* debt relations in regard to *binaliwon* funeral blankets in Ch V, sect 5.6.

quick to talk badly of individuals or families who do not. The remains of sacrifice, it could be argued, are displayed as much for people as for spirits.

The main concerns of this chapter are twofold: an engagement with, with regards to Kalinga reparatory ritual, some of the more prominent theories in performative acts and ritual efficacy; and the articulation of one of the central thesis themes through an investigation of that aspect of the *pariyao/chusa/karu* axiom which concerns ritual practice.

In relation to performative acts, it is difficult to say that rituals such as the *karu* in any straightforward way effect a conventional state of affairs if verification of the fact that such rituals were undertaken needs to be clearly displayed to natural and supernatural on-lookers. Kalinga reparatory rituals, moreover – while they are undertaken with the intention of bringing about the resolution of strained human/spirit-world relations – do not in themselves effect a transformation in the afflicted person or his or her surrounds upon the completion of the butchering and display of bodily parts. This in fact is only half the action required. In addition the protagonist needs to cease whatever deeds of *pariyao* that have brought about misfortune in the first place. Thus with regards to Kalinga *pariyao* and *chusa*, even as reparation is widely considered something that needs to be carried out, resolution, closure or cure requires not one but two sequential actions – initially, the prescribed sacrifice, and subsequently, the on-going non-action or avoidance of *pariyao*. One without the other will not do. But even both together – recalling Austin and the uncertainty of perlocutionary consequences, particularly across a social/spiritual divide – will not necessarily do. Securing resolution by propitiating a transcendent Other can seldom if ever be routine, as the effects of ritual, like the consequences of speech-acts, are prone to all manner of infelicities or unintended outcomes. Here notions concerning curative ‘consequences’ of reparatory ritual, where locals take these to be contingent upon a future change in a protagonist’s moral behaviour, aligns with Austin’s reservations concerning perlocutionary uptake of illocutionary acts.

For Rappaport certain types of ritual serve a purpose by producing social or religious transformation in people, relationships, or things. Importantly though, ritual more broadly bespeaks an overarching affirmation and re-affirmation of the conventional order through which ritual in general is sanctified, and of which any particular ritual enactment is a specific instance. At the ground level the *mampisat* and the *karu* can be understood as attempts at expiating negative circumstances and propitiating deity and spirits thought responsible for those circumstances. Yet while expiation and propitiation cannot be said to bring about their desired outcomes conventionally – that is, to bring about conventional states of affairs

relative to the intention of those acts – they can be taken as performative, or rather meta-performative, on a broader level. The enactment of the *mampisat* and the *karu* serves what Rappaport refers to as the meta-function of ritual in concurrently re-affirming cosmological relationships between the transcendent and the social, in the Kalinga case the axiomatic principles which bind misfortune to morality, as well as the omnipotence of an apical divinity. These relationships in turn arguably strengthen the conceptual structure underpinning the integrated practices and postulates which constitute Kalinga religion more broadly. Here the engagement in reparatory ritual highlights critical processes through which the local spirit-realm and the social world become thoroughly enmeshed.

While the focus in this chapter has been traditional forms of reparation made to a transcendent Other with the intention of alleviating misfortune or potential misfortune, ritual sacrifice is only one means by which people address this concern. The resolution to *nachusa*, or human suffering as spirit-world punishment, when it is understood to be the result of *pariyao*, is also locally achievable through access to a form of medicine ultimately derived from Apo Dios. The offering of this medicine as an important means of addressing *pariyao* and gaining Apo Dios's favour is a central feature of a vernacularized form of Christianity, itself an emergent local tradition in Tarlao, and forms the subject matter of the following chapter.

Chapter IV

Agnes's mass: Vernacularized Christianity and Christianized curative ritual as an emergent Kalinga tradition



Agnes in Sunday attire outside the doorway to her church

Taking the foundation laid in the opening chapters – that much of Kalinga ritual and religion is locally understood through a concatenation of assertions and actions concerning deemed wrongdoing, spirit-world attributed punishment, and reparatory ritual – this chapter and the subsequent ones deal with, among other things, supporting themes revolving around social and religious change. I critically reflect on transformation as manifested through people's engagement with a plurality of ritual activity, assertions, sentiments and attitudes, both traditional Kalinga and more recently introduced and locally interpreted Christian (Catholic and Anglican). I focus on the convergences and similarities in addition to the inconsistencies and tensions that often result with the co-occurrence of historically, doctrinally and cosmologically differing ritual and religious orders.

In this chapter I investigate a local emergent cultural element, a Christian gathering conducted on Sunday mornings by Agnes, a woman in her sixties who is otherwise a mother, grandmother, farmer and ordinary resident of Tarlao village. During these regular Sunday gatherings she is possessed of what locals understand to be the Holy Spirit sent by Apo Dios

(God), and in this transformed state she is able to 'see' (*ila*) beyond the limits of the human environment and communicate with a transcendent Other. While in trance she is also able to know events in advance of them happening (*pagtu*), and is understood to have intricate knowledge of the workings of the body and the ailments (*sakit*) that plague people. She is particularly renowned for curing 'spiritually complicated' sickness (*nachusa*)⁵⁴ – persistent sickness or pain attributed to the workings of local spirits or Apo Dios as retribution for people's deemed wrongdoings. The medicine (*acas*) she gives and the abilities she possess are understood to come ultimately from Apo Dios. Moreover, her spirit possession, prophesy and curative rituals, framed as they are through Christian assertions concerning Apo Dios and the Holy Spirit, are performed in the context of a vernacularized Christian mass (*misa*) comprising of Bible readings, recitations of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and the singing of popular hymns.

In a similar way to how other ritual practitioners and 'gifted' individuals in the village are understood to have the ability to draw on or interact with a transcendent Other, Agnes's capacity for effecting cures and seeing beyond the natural human environment is locally acknowledged to have been passed on from a previously 'gifted' but now deceased relative, in this case both her late mother and father.⁵⁵ While this may be so, her actual abilities in these regards are understood to have manifested through being possessed of Apo Dios's Holy Spirit, not ancestor spirits. One of the many implications of this is that here Agnes departs from Kalinga tradition and contributes in part to the religious and cultural transformation evident in other aspects of Kalinga society. Additionally, as Agnes reiterates time and again, for Apo Dios's medicine to work people need to cease whatever it is that they are doing that displeases Apo Dios. In addition they need to attend mass, heed Apo Dios's words in the Bible, and have faith. These stipulations are important considerations on a number of fronts. The former reinforces general moral order in Kalinga society, which, as discussed in chapter II, is for the most part consistent with trans-local Christian moral order, while the latter reaffirms locally understood Church doctrine, and in so doing (whether intentionally or not) aids in bringing locals deeper into the Christian fold, albeit through a locally constructed, unofficial form of Christianity.

⁵⁴ The term *sakit* is used when a person is ordinarily sick, whereas the term *nachusa* in relation to a person's sickness imparts overtones of immoral conduct for which that person has been or is being punished by a transcendent Other. The term *chusa* in the context of Kalinga ritual and religion commonly refers to God's or spirits' role as judge and punisher. While *chusa* implies the potential for contracting sickness or incurring misfortune, *nachusa* is generally used to refer to an existing situation or circumstance of sickness or misfortune interpreted in hindsight as spirit-world punishment.

⁵⁵ Clifford Geertz in his study of Javanese religion notes something similar of *dukans*, or curers, sorcerers and ceremonial specialists, in that the capacity to be a *dukun* is at least in part inherited from a man's father. For Geertz's group, however, the actual ability to practice curing, sorcery or ceremonies is a learned skill (1960: 87).

In addition to the Tarlao indigenous church, peripherally located on one of the village's upper slopes, there are two nationally orchestrated Christian Churches, long-established and situated in the central part of the village: the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines and the Episcopal Church in the Philippines-Anglican Communion, or the Anglican Church as it is commonly referred to in the region. Roughly half the households in Tarlao have ties to the Catholic Church and the other half to the Anglican Church, rendering the vast majority if not all households in the village Christian. Both these congregations adhere to their respective liturgical calendars, with ministers conducting Sunday services according to the established structure of the mass including praise, profession of faith, repentance of sins, and distribution of the Eucharist (locally understood to be a sort of medicine, or a form of protection from harm and sickness, among other things). Unlike at Agnes's mass, baptisms are held and weddings celebrated at these relatively large, cement-floored, tin-roofed churches.

While Agnes has a strong following of locals who are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine she gives, at the end of her hour-long gatherings she often encourages people to additionally attend either the Catholic or Anglican mass, whichever they have been baptised into, as she says that her mass alone is not enough. The Catholic and Anglican ministers are aware that many of their congregation also attend the early morning indigenous mass, and they stagger their Sunday services accordingly to allow people enough time to make it back down the hill to also attend their masses. Tarlao residents in turn indicate that there are benefits to attending both Agnes's mass as well as either of the Catholic or Anglican masses, as what they get at one they cannot in the same way, or at all in some cases, get at the other. For instance, the former is locally understood to be the 'house of Apo Dios', where Apo Dios comes to speak through Agnes, where 'medicine' in the form of water and coconut oil is administered and people are healed among other things. Both the trans-local denominations, meanwhile, provide access to such things as Holy Communion, an exegesis of Scripture, marriage and baptismal certificates,⁵⁶ and connect people at least in part to the wider modern Christian world.

Moreover, Agnes's treatment of spiritually complicated sickness at her Sunday gathering, one of the main reasons people attend, is of equal importance to her ability to communicate Apo Dios's messages of reprimand and forewarning to people. As in other highland *barangays* in the region, and likely to some extent all *barangays* nationwide, conventional

⁵⁶ Baptismal certificates are a necessity for children to be enrolled in high schools and colleges elsewhere in the province and nation, and together with parents' marriage certificate, are used as supporting documentation in some government job applications.

methods of treating various sicknesses and ailments through the use of indigenous botanicals, generations-old traditional knowledge, and curative ritual linked to spirits, or in some cases saints, are long-established, socially and culturally accepted practices. Tarlao village is no exception. Here people seek out treatment from numerous individuals who are known to have particular abilities in alleviating sickness, not uncommonly in addition to the medicine Agnes gives. Neither are people averse to taking pharmaceutical medication, if it is available or within their means. But here local understanding of how prescription pills operate within the body is often folded into culturally and religiously informed interpretations of the nature and causes of sickness. Arguably Agnes's gathering is as much a site of curative ritual as it is of Christian activity. The two are inextricable given that fundamental assertions about Christianity empower Agnes's curative ritual and sanctify the medicine given, while a principal reason people attend the mass in the first place is to access the potent medicine on offer, which is understood to become effective when recipients reaffirm the divinity of the God in whose name the medicine is given.

While not everyone in the community attends Agnes's mass, or indeed the other Christian Sunday services, there are those who moreover participate in both, and who tend to do so without a sense of contradiction. In an earlier chapter (Ch II, sect 2.6) I discussed the amalgam of histories, mythologies, localizations, liturgical orders, and political and social influences bound up in and distinguishing religious orders, as well as the cosmological differences, particularly the dissimilarity concerning notions of the afterlife (also discussed below). Central to the thesis, one of the questions I take up in this chapter concerns how we would account for the fact that people participate in a plurality of religious traditions across the community. One way to approach this is to consider locals' assertions that the same God – Apo Dios – is the ultimate referent at both the locally constructed and the nationally standardized versions of Christianity in Tarlao. An additional question I pursue concerns similarities through which we might better understand Agnes's treatment of sickness in relation to long-established Kalinga curative practices whose practitioners do not access the Holy Spirit or otherwise frame their rituals through unambiguous Christian references. I argue here that there is contiguity and commonality between Christian practices and traditional healing in that they are underpinned by the same axiomatic principle through which people customarily come to terms with spiritually complicated sickness. That principle is that an individual's persistent sickness or other misfortune follows on from what people take to be that individual's wrongdoing, witnessed by a transcendent Other, either deity or spirit, and given as a form of punishment. This axiom – that moral failings will bring about misfortune – is supported through a prevalent local idiom wherein people take it that God is

always at your back, watching, in addition to the fundamental notion that God looks on with displeasure at people's immoral conduct.

The above two points – that people take it that Apo Dios is behind Agnes's mass as well as the other Christian services, and that the giving of Apo Dios's medicine and traditional Kalinga curative ritual are underscored by the same fundamental principle – are, I argue below, complexly related in that the same general principle through which Kalinga healing is expressed also contextualizes trans-local Christianity in the village. In other words, it is the meta-level principles on which both the Kalinga mass and traditional healing practices are predicated – more so, I suggest, than an understanding that the same God is behind all village religious activity – that ultimately frame the way in which contemporary trans-local Christianity is understood.

I begin with a description of this locally emergent Christian mass, then present Tarlao Catholic and Anglican clergy's reactions to Agnes as Apo Dios's messenger, and then explore the three distinguishing features of Agnes's mass – her ability to see and communicate with those who ordinary humans cannot, her giving of Apo Dios's medicine, and her ability to know things before they happen. I conclude with a section on Kalinga traditions concerning inheriting ritual ability, and critically reflect on how Agnes's activities draw together Christianity and traditional Kalinga curative ritual, essentially producing innovation out of the well-established order of things.

4.1 The Sawate *misa*, a vernacularized Christian mass

On any given Sunday morning in Tarlao village, at about two hours after sunrise, a group of mostly women from across the village, some aged and leaning on sticks, many with infants slung in blankets on their backs, congregate at the modest, unassuming building where the elderly Agnes holds her weekly gatherings. It is an event which most locals refer to as the 'Sawate mass', because of its proximity to the Sawate and Upper Sawate house clusters, part of the residential areas on the west side of the village. Many also consider it to be unique in the Kalinga uplands. Occasionally people make the journey from neighbouring villages to seek out a cure to a persistent illness, starting out before dawn to reach Tarlao in time for the mass. Situated in a clearing at the end of an old concrete path, the small, peripherally located church (*singwa'an*) – Agnes's and her late husband's former home, now remodelled and extended to accommodate the 40-50 people on average who attend regularly – overlooks descending rice terraces, a scattering of rooftops, and the larger, centrally located buildings of the Tarlao Anglican and Catholic congregations. A painted signboard proclaims the old

house as the Nazareth Convent. Agnes said that the name came to her in a dream, and that it is a place which gets mentioned many times in the Bible.

About a half dozen men also regularly turn up for this mass and usually squat outside smoking local tobacco thinly rolled in newspaper before taking up places inside at the back on some of the long, rough-hewn plank benches that fill the room. Men and women tend to sit separately, mirroring gender group dynamics common at other community gatherings such as funerals, weddings, peace-pact (*bodong*) celebrations, even the monthly parent-teacher meetings held in one of the elementary school classrooms. At the far end of the church a foot-high concrete platform elevates a high-backed wooden chair that sits behind a small table draped with a white cloth. Next to these is a shorter bench on which people sit or lie back when called up to the front to have their illnesses treated. The table holds several Ilokano language Bibles, small brown bottles of near-solidified coconut oil (*lara*), a jar of tap water and a small drinking glass, a packet of slender candles, matches, ballpoint pens, and an old hymnal – all necessary paraphernalia for the mass.

Agnes also keeps on her small table an large edge-worn hardcover notebook dating back to the early days of her church, page after page of which she had, while in trance, filled with a script that no one but herself is able to understand – made all the more amazing, people tell me, by the fact that Agnes, like many of her generation in the village, was never taught how to read or write. Years later the handwritten pages of this old blue book are still a source of continual revelation to Agnes and she would pour over the pages, sometimes the same page, murmuring to someone none of us could see, searching for then calling out the names of those who are to receive medicine that day. On my first visit to the village in 2005 I was told that if I go to the mass I would likely be called up to the front to read from this book, as apparently all foreign visitors at the time were asked to do. People suspect that the spirit of a *maliaru*, an ‘Americano’ or foreigner, guided Agnes’s hand in writing in that esoteric language, and some locals hoped for an interpretation. Agnes in her flowing white cotton gown typically cuts an intimidating figure at the front of the church, at times brooding, at times bristling with anger. On that morning, despite keeping a low profile at the back, I was singled out, nervously made my way through the rows of seated people, and stepped up to sit next to Agnes who handed me the open book indicating for me to read. Confronted with neat lines of indecipherable squiggles in blue ink I stared blankly, a little embarrassed, as the collective anticipation in the room fell away leaving a palpable disappointment. Perfecto, Agnes’s son, motioned for me to step down again. That was not the last time Agnes had demonstrated my mortal inadequacy in the face of her power and privilege wielding the Holy Spirit.

Despite her privileged access to Apo Dios, and the vernacularized Christianity she is forging, Agnes herself is not a baptised Christian. She was 'baptised' late in life by a man known as Pastor Saca'ile, a powerful faith-healer from an adjacent province who, Perfecto told me wide-eyed, could clear the clouds and stop the rain, but who was greedy, charged high fees for his services, and eventually lost his powers. Years ago he was called to treat my neighbour Maria's dying father, and making use of the opportunity Perfecto asked him to treat Agnes as well, who around that time had inexplicably fallen ill, not once but many times. She had on several occasions been treated by doctors at the Bontoc hospital to no avail. Perfecto had even had a *carabao* butchered in hopes of ridding Agnes of her fainting illness. Corazon, the Tarlao elementary school principal, and leading figure in the community who sometimes also leads the Catholic Sunday service when the Eucharistic minister is absent, captured Agnes's 'beginnings' in her personal diary, in February 1994. She wrote that one night she was leading a small group of women, including Agnes, in a novena to the Immaculate Heart when, before she could finish the last Hail Mary of the first decade, Agnes spoke up and asked if she could lead the rosary.⁵⁷ The group acquiesced. Corazon writes:

She was talking, telling that the group are here to praise and give happiness to the faith, to the church they are attending. "But some when they go to church, later when they go out, they backbite [gossip, slander]" ... She was praying all the time, and we could see the change in her face, her voice clear and speaking in Ilocano and our dialect. Then she asked me to continue with the rosary, but abruptly interrupted again saying "See how they trust in you, you are the one who made us, not nature, so please forgive our sins." When I asked her later what she was saying, she couldn't remember or tell us.

Corazon's entry of a week later noted that Agnes was ill for several days and had asked Perfecto to pray for her, and that he asked Corazon to join him. In her unwell state Agnes sang something to them along the lines of "... It is like an inheritance from those old people." Below I will return to this point of 'inheriting' from spirits of deceased relatives the capacity to perform rituals or in other ways engage with the local non-manifest world.

More than once Agnes had told us about a specific spirit who comes to her in visions, who has what she describes as the facial features of a European man, with hair on his arms, and who wears long robes like a priest. He guided Agnes in setting up her church and her mass,

⁵⁷ Novenas such as these were uncommon and I knew of none that took place in the village at the time of my fieldwork in 2008.

and he has over the years instructed her in how she should live her life. This 'spirit teacher', as Perfecto refers to him, advised Agnes that she should not eat any form of meat. The way Perfecto explained it to me is that "People are essentially soil, we come from earth, and it's Apo Dios who gives us breath/life (*ahrus*). We are borrowing life from Apo Dios. If Apo Dios takes it back we die. Agnes was taught that all animals also come from the earth and are animated through the breath that Apo Dios gives to them. So any animal is also an extension of Agnes's own body, and she should not kill or eat them." Agnes will, however, eat fish because, as she understands it, Jesu Christo ate fish, but not other animals. Agnes expects her family to commit to her same food restrictions, saying that they would get sick if they did not abide by what her spirit teacher had instructed. I later learnt through Juan that Perfecto's family will not accept *utung*, the *carabao* meat distributed to all families who attend a village funeral, or *orong*, the pig meat distributed to extended family members on the occasion of a particular ritual (*pusipus*) given for a sick person. He said that that's Perfecto's family's *ugali*, their particular way of doing things.

Agnes is compelled to give Sunday mass, and to a lesser extent the additional low-key weekday gatherings usually held on Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday evenings. Ever since the Holy Spirit called on her she has had to perform the Sunday mass. The way she understands it she has no choice. Failing to perform the mass would bring about Apo Dios's punishment for her. I remember one evening Agnes sitting on the floor shelling peas with her daughter-in-law Lourdes and relating her recent experience in Tabuk to a group of us. She had just returned home after going to visit relatives there for several days over a weekend to bring back two sacks of rice. This was during the difficult months of May and June when people's rice was still maturing in the fields and many families, running low on last year's harvest, had to resort to borrowing or buying commercially grown and milled grain. As I understand it, lowland farmers, unlike those from the highland *barangays*, can grow two, sometimes even three crops a year. Meanwhile, when Sunday came around and Agnes had still not returned to Tarlao she said that for the entire day down there in the lowlands her hands clenched up into tight fists and she could do nothing for herself. This has happened to her before, and she takes it as a sign of Apo Dios's displeasure with her.

This obligation to give the mass, to communicate Apo Dios's message for the benefit of the people, is understood to come with spirit-world consequences if Agnes disregards her responsibility. Moreover, people understand that they are not expected to give anything in return for the medicine they receive, and Agnes is adamant that she will not accept personal payment for healing the sick. This is one of the stipulations made clear to her by her spirit-teacher. She says that the day she accepts such compensation the Holy Spirit would leave her

and not return. If people want to they could make a donation to the church in the form of small bottles of coconut oil (*lara*), or ballpoint pens, or *candilas*, all of which are items needed for the mass and which Agnes cannot afford to buy herself. Once a wealthy family, whose son Agnes had cured of a serious illness, made a considerable contribution in bags of cement and other material to enlarge Agnes's former house, contributing to the church-like structure it has now. But such donations are rare and Agnes remains resolute that no compensation is necessary for her effort in doing the work Apo Dios has called her to do.

There is a time during every mass in which Agnes would lay one of the Ilocano Bibles in her lap and let the pages fall open, and they tended to do so more or less the middle, which unintentionally but invariably meant an Old Testament book, and then hand the open Bible to someone who could read. This was at times principal Corazon, or sometimes George, another school teacher. I was told later that this is far from a random means of arriving at a passage to be read. It is through Agnes that Apo Dios selects a page that will have particular meaning for someone present on that day, but only that individual would know who they are and what Apo Dios intended. If there was no one more qualified that week, Perfecto would stand up to read, haltingly, pausing momentarily to find a gap into which he could insert his voice alongside Agnes's typically ceaseless stream of talking, shouting, murmuring, singing, and spirit-induced vocalizations for most of the mass (examples to follow).

Most times having the Bible read aloud, almost as a backdrop, spurred Agnes on to be more vociferous, talking over the top of the reader, and in so doing juxtaposing two competing voices for Apo Dios – one textual and ancient, the other unfolding live for all to hear. Typically Agnes spends much of the mass scolding people, but not often by name, for their continual bad behaviour, saying that this is why they are sick, and asking why she should continue to give medicine if people say they will change their ways but do not. At moments during the mass when there are lulls in the old woman's verbalizing, or healing, Perfecto, invariably sitting in the front row with his family, would start with a popular hymn and all would join in, or people would stand with him to recite the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. And when Agnes would finally sit back, subdued, spent after about an hour of vigorous activity, Perfecto would bring the mass to a close with one of these two standard recitations, after which people would disperse.

4.2 The Catholic and Anglican Churches in Tarlao

The east side of Tarlao village is dominated by the cement-floored, sturdy wooden structure of the Catholic church, St. Peter's, raised by local carpenters after the original 1938 mission school came down in a typhoon. It is actually an outstation mission chapel serviced by a local

Eucharistic minister, Leonard, who leads the readings, prayers and profession of faith. He receives the offertory collection, which if anything at all might amount to an offering of a small bag of mongo or white beans, exchanged later in the township for money to buy *candilas* for the altar. He also distributes the Eucharist in the mass. The Host is consecrated beforehand by the municipality's one ordained Catholic priest who is based in the much larger Catholic Mission Church and high school down in the township. The priest serves the municipality's many *barangays* and would only infrequently visit the outstation mission chapels to serve mass or perform baptisms. Each of the *barangays* that had a Catholic chapel also had a deacon or lay minister who substituted for the priest in all functions except administering the sacraments. The standardized Sunday service at the Tarlao Catholic mission reproduces the liturgy of the Catholic mass from around the nation. The complete Catholic service to be undertaken by lay ministers is detailed in a mass leaflet for each Sunday of the month. It specifies first and second readings, the Gospel, a reflection paragraph for the homily, and other pertinent information, all in Ilocano and printed in Baguio City, the largest urban centre in the Cordillera, and distributed to Catholic parishes throughout the highlands.

Leonard, a Tarlao local and the Catholic lay minister, is in his late thirties and he and his wife have seven children. They live in a modest house near the church. The two houses nearest his belong to his two sisters, one of whose husband had recently passed away. Leonard, in his official Church capacity, presided over the final ceremony at his brother-in-law's funeral, giving the final Christian blessing and leading the gathering in prayers for the departed soul. During an initial conversation he and I had had, Leonard had found it important to tell me that being the community's lay minister does not mean that he gets a salary from the Church. Others previously had given me the impression that they consider the priesthood a well-respected, well-paid profession, and so too by implication, but to a lesser extent, the lay ministry. Implicit in this sentiment is the virtually ubiquitous undercurrent of jealousy in the village for people who experience any degree of financial or other success in life. Peter was particularly critical of this attitude, and Juan and others too. Perfecto told me once that people in Tarlao are like that, if you have a salary, if you are a teacher or *barangay* councilmen, for example, or if you have any kind of gain in life, others would begrudge you that. "No one wants to see anyone else succeed."

Leonard and his wife, meanwhile, support their family by working their gardens and rice fields just like everyone else, and every so often I would see Leonard returning from a long hike up into the bush with his *bolo* at his belt and shouldering a heavy load of trimmed branches for the family's cooking fire. One Sunday after the mass I joined him for the midday

meal. While we sat until his wife cooked the rice, he spoke of the week-long training program for Eucharistic ministers in Tabuk which he had just attended. After I made space for him to do so, he also spoke of Agnes. "I believe in Agnes's ability to heal through the power of the Holy Spirit, and that her *pagtu* [predictions] is true, is from Apo Dios. But now I don't know because I cannot attend Agnes's mass." He then mentioned that around the time Agnes began healing people she said that Apo Dios had given her only 70 days to 'serve', so he now questions whether the 'good spirit' has left Agnes. (Quick to defend Agnes, Perfecto adamantly denied this when I later brought the topic up.) Later I learned that part of Leonard's reserve towards Agnes was due to an earlier concern of his that members of his congregation might choose Agnes's mass over his. That they do so in addition to his seemed to bother him less.

The west side of the village is dominated by the Anglican church, St. Dominic's, which is comparable in size and size of congregation to its Catholic counterpart. Both churches have short bell towers, and peals from these ring out at intervals over the rooftops on Sunday mornings, one echoing the other. Fr. Andrew, the resident Anglican minister, is not a local Tarlao but originates from Mountain Province to the south of Kalinga, and had been stationed in Tarlao since the year before I arrived in 2008. Oftentimes after the mass I would join him and his family for coffee and hotcakes on the balcony of their residence at the Anglican multi-purpose building across from the church. Here we had many general conversations about Christianity and village life as he observed it from his vantage point. He had complained to me on several occasions about poor turn-outs at his masses, which also affected the meagre church offertory collection, the monthly tally of which he reported to the diocese in Bontoc. But I assured him it was no better at the Catholic services where typically 25 to 30 adults attended on ordinary Sundays.⁵⁸ He was most critical of those who show up in the weeks prior to one of their children's baptism or confirmation, ostensibly reverent, obtain the precious certificate from him, and then conveniently disappear. Agnes was equally critical of those who only attended her mass when they felt sick and in need of Apo Dios's medicine.

Earlier Leonard had also mentioned that Agnes's mass differed from the Catholic mass in that the Bible readings were not the same. As mentioned above Agnes is guided by Apo Dios every Sunday in choosing chapter and verse appropriate to specific people's needs at the

⁵⁸ Agnes's service was consistently the best attended of the three, with easily 35 to 40 mostly regular congregants each Sunday, about a dozen of whom also attended her three weekday evening sessions. A good many of Agnes's congregants would also filter down into one or the other of the later-starting Christian services. As a rough estimate about 80-90% of Tarlao adults do not attend any Sunday church service.

time, and that the readings she is guided to have no correspondence with the trans-local Christian liturgical calendars. On the other hand, the designated first and second readings and the Gospel read at the Catholic and Anglican services were quite similar throughout the year. Fr. Andrew confirmed for me that the similarity in the chosen passages of scripture reflects the fact that for him there was very little separating the Anglican and Catholic Churches, both being “one holy, catholic and apostolic church.” On this occasion the main difference for Fr. Andrew seemed to be that Catholics celebrate saints’ feast days on the Sunday on which they fall, whereas Anglicans will celebrate them on other days, leaving Sundays for the celebration of the mass. On other occasions, though, he singled out further inconsistencies between the two denominations, including most saliently Church leadership – the Catholic Pope versus the Philippines Anglican Prime Bishop.⁵⁹

At the only wedding celebrated in Tarlao during my fieldwork I found a quiet moment to chat with Fr. Ben, a relatively newly ordained Anglican minister and brother of the bride. A local Tarlao man, he and his family live at the seminary in Quezon City, Manila, and were up visiting for a few days. He enquired about my fieldwork, and I in turn asked him for his thoughts on Agnes’s Sawate mass, not knowing how much he knew of what went on there. In Fr. Ben’s estimation Agnes’s gift for healing and the presence of the Holy Spirit was undeniable. The same God was behind Agnes’s practice and the Anglican Church. The thing that concerned the young minister, though, was Agnes’s genuineness. “Even bad spirits can do good in an effort to gain power – politicians do the same.” He called it “sowing fear in people. We are mortals, instruments of higher beings, good or evil. If the healing is the end result, then good, but even bad people do good things for other purposes.”

Fr. Andrew, on the other hand, seemed to have more experience with *spiritus* (healers such as Agnes, possessed of the Holy Spirit), having grown up in his hometown province living next-door to a similar woman. These individuals’ ability in treating sickness was consistent with the Anglican Church’s interest in the ministry of healing, at least in the Philippines in the 1970s and 80s according to Fr. Andrew. What disgruntled him most was the exclusivity of belief and acceptance of other Christian congregations such as Seventh Day Adventists, some Baptist groups, and the Philippines Church, Iglasio ni Cristo. He was keen to inform me of the inclusivity of the Anglican Communion, particularly when it came to an understanding of Apo Dios – namely that it is the same God that we all worship. “The other

⁵⁹ Although Fr. Andrew did not mention Catholic celibacy, the difference had not escaped locals. Celibacy among Catholic priests was accepted by locals as a part of the *ugali* (traditional way of doing things) for Catholic priests. That said, the idea that a Kalinga family of means could put a son through seminary and place him on a highly respected vocational path, where he could also raise a family – in a society where *not* having children is unthinkable – is a far more attractive option than a virtually identical career path that included celibacy.

Christian groups tend to be very critical of the Anglican Church. The Catholic Church and individual *spiritus* are not critical. I like Catholics and *spiritus*,” he said smiling, “they understand my beliefs.”

4.3 *Mani'ila* – to see and be able to communicate with spirits

Typical of the way each mass would begin, Agnes – sometimes sitting in casual conversation with people at the front, sometimes sitting alone in contemplation at her table – would all of a sudden convulse, throw her head back and gasp loudly, then momentarily fall silent. People take these to be involuntary spasms, moments when the Holy Spirit comes to Agnes, empowering her with an ability even the Christian priests do not have – to be able to see, hear and communicate with a transcendent Other who remains unseen and mute to the rest of us. People stop to watch, settle in their places and allow Agnes to speak, which, once started, she would do with much vigour, and almost continuously for the hour or so duration of the mass. Invariably she would scold people, but not always directly. Consistent with the way locals normally avoid direct confrontation with each other, she would often speak to the space a few feet above the seated congregation's heads. At other times she would speak to the space in an area off to the side, or sometimes right beside her. Perfecto explained one day that when Agnes speaks as if to the air we can only hear one side of the conversation, but if you listen carefully sometimes you can piece together most of the dialogue. During a portion of one typical Sunday mass Agnes addressed the congregation and spirits present with the following:⁶⁰

You have to listen to the teachings!

[then, as if speaking to a spirit in the room] *Don't leave, see what's happening here. See what these people are doing.*

If someone says something bad to you, you should not retaliate. But this is what is happening in the world. In the Bible they don't follow their own will, this is what I'm telling you. It's not I who is talking. I'm only conveying what I'm told, and doing what I'm told to do. You should obey the teachings so that you will not be tempted to do bad things. I'm repeating these words so that people will understand and know Apo Dios's wishes. It's not Agnes who's talking. Apo Dios says that you are all doing whatever you like. Do not focus so much on food and

⁶⁰ With Agnes and her family's permission I video recorded several of her masses, explaining that it was to aid my research. I later had them translated by one of my primary informants in the village who confessed that he had some difficulty with the disjointed nature of Agnes's verbalizations when in trance, and claimed that occasionally she appeared to be speaking an unrecognizable dialect. Many others take this to be the language of spirit-people.

earthly things, because those are not Apo Dios's wishes. Don't disregard what the Bible says. Humble yourself.

Away, you come and drink! [holds out a small glass filled with water]

[again, as if speaking to a spirit] *What shall I do, where shall we go?*

What is that! What are you doing! [blaming someone]

Wharadya, here is your medicine! [again, holds out the glass of water]

For someone who often stays in my house. [people turn around and look in my direction, others indicate to me to go up and drink the water]

Balawon, you be careful!

Whatever Apo Dios tells me I do [while massaging oil into someone]. It's not for my own sake. I'm going to heal you now so stop doing bad things, too many bad things. I'm not defeated. I'm trying my best to defend you.

This is what Apo Dios said, so these things you should do. If people do bad things it's Apo Dios' responsibility to judge them.

That child had fallen down when very young. Because we are not careful, this is why we are sick now. Don't over-work yourselves, take care, because that causes sickness.

Follow what is being taught to you. Stop doing bad things and do what is right as Apo Dios has told us. Apo Dios will judge you.

In this book we have the words [Agnes's blue notebook through which Apo Dios indicates who is sick]

I don't like it when people who attend the mass act against what I say. It will be your fault if you sin against Apo Dios. I'm telling you this because sometimes you say to me, I say this and that, yet it comes from Apo Dios. I am just the instrument.

I do these things because they said so, to give medicine, so I'm thankful Apo Dios gave me this ability so you people won't be sick. Even in the past I said this.

[again, addressing someone we cannot see] *Although people act like this you will look after us, forgive us. It is you who will correct and judge us so we must stop doing wrong things.*

With this responsibility given to me I'm doing the best I can. So listen to the teachings.

Someone stole from Chugurai!

Banag, this is what Apo Dios says about what you do, Apo Dios sees it. So, this is what you do to get what you want, and now I'm telling you everything.

Maria pray for yourself! It's up to you now.

You people you don't listen. We are disobeying Apo Dios's commands and this is why we are sick. If we are not sick we do not care what Apo Dios is saying, but when we're sick we listen. That's people's attitude.

You, come to heal your head sickness.

Awaya, do you want to be healed?

(fieldnotes, 2008)

A common refrain in Agnes's mass is that people should discontinue conduct which is deemed bad or else Apo Dios will judge, find fault, and reprimand them⁶¹ – but in this life, not in any life to come. Locals, other than Church clergy or catechists, rarely if ever spoke in terms of a stratified Christian afterlife, much less of a dreaded destination where Apo Dios would condemn a person's spirit or soul for their moral misconduct when alive.⁶² Similarly, locals spoke little of the Christian notion of 'heaven', and even less of being rewarded there after death for leading morally upstanding lives – and this despite recurrent exposure to biblical scripture and sermonizing at Catholic and Anglican Sunday services reiterating a message of the economy of salvation, a principle which itself is predicated on particular convictions concerning not only the eternal persistence of the soul but its fate after permanent separation from the body. Traditional Kalinga understandings in this regard differ from Christian cosmology, but this, as I argue throughout the thesis, does not compromise locals' assertions concerning Apo Dios, or the principle of other-worldly attributed punishment for wrongdoing, or even locals' sense of identity as Christians.

Importantly, whereas virtually all Tarlao locals have a clear conception of the dangers posed by the intangible part of the body, the *achogwa*, which persists after the physical body has perished, there does not seem to be a clear understanding as to where *achogwa* go when they depart their house surrounds on the ninth day after entombment.⁶³ "We don't know, we can't see," was Perfecto's succinct answer, which was consistent with many others in the

⁶¹ Agnes is typically vague about the 'bad things' of which she/Apo Dios accuses people, and it is fair to say that she does not speak for the entire community in all that she deems immoral, as briefly mentioned in regards to revenge and the head-taking episode discussed in chapter II, sect 5.

⁶² Raul Pertierra (1988) notes a similar conviction for a community in Ilocos Sur, coastal northern Luzon, in that a person's "relations with the supernatural are pursued primarily to benefit his present life rather than in reference to a future or past existence," (1988: 129). Pertierra states that "After death, a person's soul attempts to maintain its links with this world [...] but eventually, the soul joins the *anito* [general spirit] category [...]. In this spirit ideology, questions of punishment and reward after death are unimportant. Divine justice manifests itself in this life, in terms of health, fortune, and children," (1988: 135).

⁶³ Kalinga funeral practices are detailed in Ch V, sect 5.3.

community. There is a vague notion that ancestor spirits are still present in and around the village, within earshot, and will be attracted to the sound of their name in people's conversations. This is of relevance to most people because the touch of a spirit, intentional or not, is said to result in sickness for the person concerned. For these reasons locals are reluctant to mention the name of the deceased at a funeral, referring to them simply as *natoy*, the dead one. This holds for deceased relatives in general. Also anyone in the community with the same name as a recently deceased person would tend to go by one of their several other names⁶⁴. Peter informed me that after a while *achogwa* just seem to go elsewhere, to recede from the human world, having less and less to do with living relatives. One way he knows this is true is that *mani'ila* or spirit-world practitioners eventually stop hearing from particular *achogwa*, or stop holding them accountable for people's ailments. *Achogwa*, by this account, have a distinct place in Kalinga cosmology, largely unaffected by Christian notions of the destination of the soul relative to people's moral lives.

Kalinga people's lack of interest in Christian assertions concerning heaven, purgatory and hell has been noted in other parts of the Philippines over a long period. Rafael (1988), in his study of the historical processes of subordination and indebtedness relative to Spanish colonialism in early Tagalog society, states that, "notions of paradise and hell, contrary to received assumptions, are Spanish innovations with no Tagalog precedents. Indeed, the absence of a Tagalog mythology of rewards and punishments after death underlines the novelty of the heaven and hell introduced by the Spaniards," (1988: 170, FN3). Analyzing early 17th century Dominican and Augustinian descriptive verse on the nature of God and what is to be expected in heaven, Rafael draws out a subtext of colonially imposed hierarchy, order and authority. As presented by friars

Heaven denotes the unalterable freezing of power relationships. Absolute unity arises from one's unconditional surrender to the unimpeded exercise of divine authority. In the context of a colonial politics tied to evangelization, the image of paradise could thus lend itself to the construction of ideal notions of authority and submission. Paradise figured the possibility of surrendering to an outside power located in the future which would make past and present fears eminently reasonable.

(1988: 179)

⁶⁴ Perfecto, for instance, as I understand has four names; a Kalinga name, a baptismal or English name, an intimate family name, and the one Corazon, his elementary school teacher at the time, gave him early on for his repeatedly perfect scores on homework and class assignments.

Additionally, Cannell (1999, 2006) notes an absence of interest in a Christian afterlife in contemporary Bicolano society, southern Luzon, in that a “person who is asked straight-on about what happens to souls, will usually say that they go to heaven immediately (or to ‘wherever they are going’ – a euphemism which includes hell) [...] But if someone spontaneously imagines the dead without being asked, the idea of heaven or hell almost always seems to be absent,” (1999: 152-53). They speak instead of the dead being in a sort of darkness or *kadikloman*, or else in the amorphously imagined and evasively spoken of world of spirits (1999: 153). Cannell connects this notion of a darkness where the helpless dead are unable to speak or see to Bicol idioms of power imbalances. Another focus of her work revolves around the idiom of pity (*herak*) expressed, for example, in the empathy Bicolano women feel for the suffering of the Mother of Christ in the narrative of the Crucifixion as retold in Filipino verse in the *Pasion* text. Included in the *Pasion* are *hulit*, short sermons which invite people to repent and mend their ways, beseeching Christian sinners to have a thought for their soul, and for disobedient children to take as example the humble deeds of Jesus (1999: 190, 281, FN12). Regarding the examples of *hulit* which Cannell’s informants singled out for consideration, she notes how striking it was that so little of the discussion of these passages “turned to sin and punishment, or centred in any way on the afterlife, heaven or hell. Instead, people suggested that, hearing the *hulit*, those contemplating aggression against others would think again. [...] The *Pasion* should make you think of right behaviour in this world, but your fate in the next is comparatively underplayed,” (1999: 190).

Returning to Agnes, during the mass, as she does in her everyday communication, she speaks her native Kalinga language with the idiosyncratic pronunciation that distinguishes Tarlao residents from those of neighbouring *barangays*. Frequently though, for parts of the mass, Agnes verbalizes streams of what some consider to be incoherent words, sometimes elongating them into melody, at other times muttering or whispering them to herself. Many congregants inform me that ordinarily they find Agnes’s speech disjointed when she is taken by the Holy Spirit in trance, let alone when she is voicing what they take to be language only spirit-people can understand. Erlinda, a young woman who doesn’t normally attend the Sawate mass, had told me something similar, that she finds it difficult to understand what Agnes says even in Tarlao dialect. She said that she usually gains much more from the sermons and explanations of Bible passages at the Catholic mass she attends. No one ever interrupted Agnes during her mass to ask for clarification on something they may not have understood. Occasionally if a group of people remained behind a little longer after the mass, and if the mood took her, she would sit to talk with them about how a particular sickness would affect the body, or what is going on with tendons and nerves in a particular joint when a person is in pain. But for the most part people understand that Agnes is not ‘herself’ when

the Holy Spirit enlivens her, that she is in a way a conduit for Apo Dios's words. The way some people express it, they go to listen to Agnes's mouth, not to Agnes.

Moreover, during the mass when the Spirit has possessed her, Agnes only seems half aware of her physical surrounds, yet remains sufficiently in touch to chastise individuals and call specific persons up to be treated. Some Sundays she would seem more agitated, occasionally working herself up into a state where she would call out loudly, wild-eyed. Other times in a trance she might swing her arms back and forth, or strike either side of the bench with her bare knuckles. While no one would try to restrain her, usually a concerned family member sitting near the front would cushion the blows with some old clothing that might be lying around to prevent Agnes from hurting herself. These expressive periods do not happen at every mass, and they do not typically last more than a few minutes, after which time Agnes would lose something of the intensity that gripped her, and gain back more of herself. Then there might follow a period of calm, perhaps a sense of disorientation, but before long Agnes would return to addressing the congregation with vigour. Some of those who happen to be sitting with me during Agnes's more transformative episodes confess later that these are not events that they can easily understand. These do reinforce for people, however, that the Holy Spirit, and at times other spirits, are present in the room and operating through Agnes. These are moments of revelation, audible junctions of the visible, natural world and the realm of spirits.

Any knowledge Agnes has of the transcendent world, or the meaning of Apo Dios's messages, or details of the predictions she makes during her transformative period is said to be lost to a kind of amnesia after the Holy Spirit leaves her at the conclusion of the mass.⁶⁵ This was one of the first things Perfecto and others instructed me on the format of Agnes's mass, that in her normal waking hours Agnes cannot remember anything that transpired during her transformed state, and that there was no point in asking questions of her. If at Sunday midday meals or dinner back at their house I tried to manoeuvre group conversation into discussion about aspects of the mass Agnes would withdraw, fall silent, and Perfecto and others, protective of her in this way, would inevitably shift conversation in other directions. Here it could be argued that there is an absence of accountability on Agnes's part in regards to the accusations she makes against others when scolding them during the mass, raising

⁶⁵ Linda Conner (1996) in her study of Balinese trance and séance similarly notes that Balinese who were possessed by spirits reported that they could not remember anything of the experience after the fact. The colloquial term they use translates as 'to forget'. Conner suggests that "Forgetting' may reflect a difficulty in talking about experience that is outside the context of everyday awareness, or a reluctance to speak about behaviour and feelings at odds with ordinary standards," (1996: 51).

questions as to what extent Agnes's own voice and judgements might be coming through. But as she often remarks, these are Apo Dios's words, not her own.

4.4 *Mana'acas* – to give medicine

Agnes's achievements are held in awe by those who have been witness to her healing, from minor miracles to curing the incurable, during a vocation as Apo Dios's chosen messenger to Tarlao village and surrounds that had spanned almost two decades now. While possessed of the Holy Spirit Agnes sees, hears and knows things ordinary people cannot. She would know, for instance, what part of a person's body is in need of treatment, and what treatment is to be given – either in the form of water (*charom*) to be drunk by the sick person, or coconut oil (*lara*) with which she would touch a wound, or massage the abdomen or forehead or back of the neck, depending on where a person felt pain or needed treatment. With this knowledge she is able to tell a person the particular bodily illness from which they are suffering, sometimes even before they themselves know that they are suffering from it. On occasion during the mass Agnes would describe the intricacies of particular ailments or conditions that may include blockages in blood flow or inflammation in certain parts of the body, and that this was the bodily cause of a person's pain. The spiritual cause was another matter, equally complex, and followed prevalent Kalinga understandings linking unethical conduct/*pariyao* to spirit-world attributed punishment/*chusa*, and expressed in a local idiom such that God is always at one's back, watching, and that wrongdoing will not go unpunished.

Accordingly, Agnes states that the medicine (*acas*) she administers will not of itself cure a person taken to be afflicted with spiritually complicated sickness (*nachusa*) – the debilitating sickness, pain or injury understood to have come about through malignant or angered spirits or Apo Dios, as retribution for unethical conduct. This medicine needs to be taken in consideration of the wider cosmological understanding concerning the causes of such sickness and misfortune (*disgrasia*).⁶⁶ As such Agnes will often scold people in her congregation saying that Apo Dios is angry with them and has made them sick as a consequence of their continual bad behaviour.⁶⁷ In this way, being responsible for that which has brought about his or her own ailments, the individual seeking treatment needs to

⁶⁶ The term *disgrasia* refers to general unfortunate events or occurrences. The term *nachusa* refers to the manifestation of spirit-world punishment in the form of sickness or misfortune. A single event – a jeepney crash on the mountain road where people are injured, for instance – can either be taken to be *disgrasia* or *nachusa* depending on a person's convictions.

⁶⁷ Pertierra (1988) notes that in coastal Ilocos Sur, to the west of Kalinga, "Human or supernatural retaliation is the consequence of having committed an offence against the social or the supernatural order. The only way to prevent this retaliation is to admit fault and to offer compensation," (1988: 132).

contribute to their cure by henceforth avoiding whatever immoral conduct they are doing that offends Apo Dios, and to follow Apo Dios's teachings.

Yet not all spirit-attributed illness or accident is thought to be brought about through social or moral transgression, through Apo Dios's displeasure. A person could be thought to be hounded by a spirit, either of a deceased relative with perhaps something to communicate, or a malignant spirit out to harm whomever it catches alone and late at night. Moreover, *mani'la* such as Agnes are not the only recourse for treating sickness or the only medium through which the spirit-world may be reached. Many Tarlao people are familiar with local traditions involving ritual reparation made to spirits (e.g., *karu*, *mampisat*), and there are many ritual practitioners whose treatments are not nearly as publicly visible as Agnes's, but whose abilities some people seek out nonetheless. Agnes herself – consistent with the way she would encourage people to also attend the Catholic or Anglican mass after attending hers – would direct individuals suffering from a particular ailment to the person in the community who is known to have the ability to heal that specific sickness.

For instance, the late Kirao when she was alive was known for her gift for healing problems to do with lips, tongue or mouth with a combination of locally occurring botanicals. One of her daughters is now understood to have inherited the ability for which her deceased mother was once famous. There are also some Tarlao individuals who by virtue of being born in breech position are said to have the ability to treat bone fractures and painful joints. Fidel is one such individual and I watched him treat a young boy who had an abnormal bend in his forearm below the wrist. He massaged *lara* into the boy's arm, rubbing and pulling at it in an effort to straightening the bone. Another man, Banao, is said to have the ability to cure abdomen pain by blowing onto patients – an ailment that he himself inadvertently gives people who, in stopping to converse with him, mistakenly allow him to have the final word in their exchange. Peter, who could not hide his incredulity, once told me of a woman whose treatment involved rubbing her hands on a person with fever and somehow extracting sand or chicken feathers from under the patient's skin, said to be the malignant cause of the person's sickness. Another woman, Sagumay, spoke of how the *achogwa* of an old woman, possibly her long-dead grandmother she thinks, had come to Sagumay in a dream when she was delirious with sickness. She felt like she was being held for days in a white room without doors or windows, where this spirit kept her, cured her, and instructed her on how to cure the same type of sickness in others with the use of coconut oil.

For Agnes the healing that she effects finds its complement in traditional Kalinga curative rituals and treatments. While those who enact these traditional practices are understood to

have inherited their healing abilities from ancestor *achogwa*, Kalinga mythology ultimately sources these abilities to Kabunyan, who most locals these days conflate with Apo Dios. This conflation of Gods, Kabunyan with Apo Dios (Ch II, sect 2.6), imperfectly maps traditional Kalinga ritual and moral order to Christian liturgy and moral authority. Kalinga curative ritual, in that it draws on local mythology concerning Kabunyan (example to follow) becomes compatible with both Christian theology and Agnes's curative ritual, as all three are essentially sanctified by the same ultimate referent, Kabunyan/Apo Dios. And while Agnes does not send those who come to her for medicine to public hospitals, there are those from the village who seek medical treatment there. Not all who seek and receive hospital treatment, however, are willing to forsake traditional curative ritual or the potency of Apo Dios's medicine.

4.5 Mario, pharmaceutical pills, and Apo Dios's medicine

At the Sawate mass there are no immediate cures on offer. The healing of ailments or disabling conditions through the medicine Agnes gives – depending in part on the faith of the person who has come in search of a cure, and in part on a commitment to their cessation of unethical conduct in the eyes of Apo Dios – comes about over time. People also understand that their treatment may need to be repeated several times at subsequent masses – an opportunity which is never a given as people cannot simply ask for medicine; Apo Dios, through Agnes, has to select them. This normalcy of multiple treatments is not inconsistent with the gradual process of regaining health through other ways of healing in the village which follow more traditional methods, being both the case for people's domestic use of plant-derived indigenous medicine, as well as for other spirit-related treatments from other traditional healers in the community. Other healers do not work with the Holy Spirit though, and this was something people pointed out to me time and again – namely that the medicine Agnes gives is efficacious precisely because it comes from Apo Dios.

Agnes's congregation – like Fr. Andrew's and like Leonard's – comprises regular attendees and those who attend only occasionally. Of the latter at the Sawate church the prevailing circumstances that precede their attendance are nearly always that of personal health; people go to see Agnes when they are suffering from persistent sickness, sometimes as a first option, sometimes after pursuing other avenues such as long-established, traditional curative ritual, or hospital treatment despite its cost. Mario is a case in point. He is a grandfather and a skilled carpenter in his late 50s who, with his family, lives in a modest house not far from Tarlao's Anglican church and grounds. Here he attends service on most Sundays, and along with others in the congregation sings praise in full voice from well-thumbed hymnals and lines up to eat the "little bread" at the celebration of the Eucharist.

Mario once told me that he was first brought into the Christian fold many years ago by a Baptist congregation in the lowlands, but as there is no Baptist church in the Tarlao – and following the universal refrain in the village that there is, at any rate, only one Apo Dios – Mario has no qualms about attending the Anglican mass instead.

One Sunday morning I met Mario on his way to Agnes's mass, a gathering he didn't often attend. The foot trail leading up to the Sawate church includes stretches of steep and uneven rock and cement steps, and I'm ascending I invariably stop three quarters of the way up to catch my breath at Perfecto and Lourdes' house, brave their snarling dog Michelle, and take in the expansive mountain vistas from their narrow front yard. Mario happened to be there that particular morning and I joined him in sipping Perfecto's home-roasted sweet black coffee, spitting out the bits of ungrounded bean. When I asked, he spoke of the ailment he had come hoping to have treated. Mario had suffered from lower back pain ever since he had fallen and injured himself while building a house some years previously. Recently he had made the whole-day journey to the Bontoc hospital and there had been diagnosed with a fracture. He said he had been prescribed pills, each costing a little more than half a days' wages for him. But while he was grateful for these he told me that pharmaceuticals would not function to their full potential without divine blessing, and without the recipient's faith in Apo Dios. All these together are needed for a person to get well again from a long-enduring illness suspected to have some underlying spirit-world cause. So he had come that morning in the hopes of getting Apo Dios' medicine.

As with the general participation in Tarlao in dissimilar but cohering moral and ritual systems, seeking hospital care in Kalinga for most people is not incompatible with taking local herbal remedies, accessing indigenous spirit-world cures, hoping to receive the medicine on offer at Agnes's mass, or for that matter, participating in the Eucharist to "clean the sickness from your body," as Pabro once put it. All of these avenues are for the most part considered complementary, with the religious or spirit-world orientated ones just as important as the traditional herbal or western medical options. "The doctor's medicine is true," Mario told me, referring to the legitimacy and efficacy of modern pharmaceutical medicine and practices as he and others understood them. In earnest he elaborated that according to his experience there was no denying that Western medicine had the power to heal. But it could be dangerous as well.

Unlike indigenous botanicals or the *acas* Agnes gives, the doctor's medicines need a prescription, are often expensive, and there are restrictions such as how many pills to take and when if side-effects are to be avoided. One of his family once unwittingly took a large

quantity of medicine and became more ill than he was to begin with, and almost died as a result. Meanwhile Mario was also convinced that the medicine Agnes gives was 'true', that it had been proven time and again as attested to by numerous residents who attribute this fact to Agnes's empowerment through the Holy Spirit during her mass. Mario had come that morning to access something he could not obtain at the other Christian Sunday services in the village – God's medicine to enhance the potency of the hospital pills he had already taken. When the time came that particular morning, Agnes motioned Mario up to the front of the church and, as she deemed what action was necessary at the time, applied coconut oil to his lower back and to his forehead.

4.6 Lourdes, traditional curative ritual, *pariyao* and *chusa*

Lourdes is Agnes's daughter-in-law. She is in her mid- to late-thirties and with her husband Perfecto has five children, including two who live away from home attending township high schools. Lourdes, Perfecto, their teenage son and Agnes all contribute to supporting the household by working their rice fields and swidden plots. This is typical of daily activity for almost everyone in a Kalinga farming community. Lourdes and Agnes regularly go together to the family's vegetable growing patches on the surrounding slopes, bringing home at the end of the day sacks of beans, peas, peanuts, or sweet potato (*camote*), and any of the numerous varieties of leafy green vegetables that come into season during the year. Because of the nature of the work, and because these 'mountain gardens' (*uma*) can be located in scrubland or accessible through a tangle of undergrowth, Kalinga farmers' hands are invariably roughened by their continual encounter with the harsh environment.

On one of my frequent visits to Perfecto and Lourdes's house I couldn't but help notice that Lourdes's hands were on that day unusually inflamed and red with rash and blisters. When I asked, Lourdes preferred not to say. Perfecto volunteered that it was *aveling* sickness. Later I learnt that *aveling* is a type of tree that grows here and there on the slopes and that it is poisonous and best avoided. The tree features in several age-old stories about Kabunyan, the Kalinga creator deity, who in the early days of the world would come to the village in the guise of an ordinary Kalinga man often to guide or teach people various skills, among them basket weaving and hunting techniques. Although Kabunyan is generally considered benevolent and caring of Kalinga people he also punishes individuals for their disobedience or moral wrongdoings. People understand that one way in which Kabunyan does this is by exposing individuals in question to the poisonous *aveling* tree.

One story has it that a long time ago Kabunyan came across a Tarlao farmer toiling in the sun to clear a patch of scrub with his machete (*bolo*). Kabunyan said to the man that he would

join him, making an adjacent vegetable garden so that he, Kabunyan, could taste the farmer's vegetables, and the farmer could taste Kabunyan's. Although the farmer didn't know who this stranger was he agreed, taking it as a challenge, and the two of them set to work. At the end of each arduous day they retired to their respective homes to eat and take their rest. Then they met up again the next morning and continued to work the land. The man strove hard to keep pace with Kabunyan, whose own work seemed effortless and neat in comparison. Kabunyan told the man that after the third day they should stop, that they should both rest on the fourth day, then resume on the fifth.⁶⁸

But the Tarlao man was proud and bent on finishing his garden first, and he secretly planned to return to his field on the fourth day in an effort to outdo Kabunyan. Kabunyan, however, saw from a distance that the farmer was doing precisely what he had instructed him not to. To punish the man Kabunyan created an *aveling* tree in the middle of the man's garden. The farmer, not knowing what this tree was, or how it had mysteriously sprung up in the midst of all his good work, angrily took to it with his *bolo*. As he attacked it the sap from the tree rubbed on the man's hands causing a terrible burning rash. The story goes on to tell how Kabunyan eventually felt pity for the man, forgave him his arrogance and disobedience, and showed him how to heal *aveling* sickness, not only in himself but in others as well. Implicit in the story, and common to all such stories, is the understanding that the first individuals who were gifted with such abilities were obliged to share the benefits with all in the community, and that such ability and knowledge is passed on through that particular family's ancestors.

On successive visits I had noticed that Lourdes's hands weren't improving. On the contrary, the irritation had spread to her forearms and, alarmingly, to her face. To me it looked quite serious as her face and eyes had swollen and she had taken to wearing a kerchief over her head, tying it under her chin to hide her cheeks. She told me that a few months earlier, when she had had this sickness before, she had gone to see Wittí, the Tarlao man who is reckoned to have inherited the ability to cure *aveling* sickness. Wittí is known to burn an old jaw bone of a pig, wave the smoke towards the affected areas on a sick person, and tell the *aveling* to go (*ma an'a ameling*), to leave the person. Juan told me that in the central Kalinga town of Lubuagan there is a woman healer who treats *aveling* in men in a three hour procedure

⁶⁸ The historian William Henry Scott relates a strikingly similar tale with a similar moral, only Kabunyan tells the farmer to rest of the sixth day, not the fourth (1975: 75-76). In Tarlao the number four, and by implication most even numbers, has negative connotations in local culture, particularly in regards to the number of days over which a funeral is held (odd numbers for a peaceful death after a long life, even numbers for an unexpected death), but also to the number of animals sacrificed in ritual. Although no one I spoke to could fully explain this negative connotation for me, part of its logic, as can be seen here, lies in Kalinga mythology.

involving blowing tobacco smoke over the sick patient. Integral to Witt's treatment, he would also recount the story of Kabunyan and the *aveling* tree.

His treatment, then, like Agnes's, taps into the relation between human action and spirit-world reaction that is widely understood to be behind this sort of sickness. That is – and similar to the way in which locals interpret an *echao's*, or omen bird's visit to someone's house as an indication of Apo Dios's displeasure with them⁶⁹ – the re-telling of the Kabunyan legend, replete with the tale's inherent morals, hints at a presumed similar infraction of social or moral conduct in Lourdes's own contracting of *aveling* sickness. Lourdes's *aveling*, as it turned out, did not leave her after Witt's treatment, and she later told me in a dismissive tone – perhaps in an effort to divert attention away from what would be perceived as her own moral failings in contracting the sickness in the first place – that the old man's healing has no power, that he doesn't treat sickness with the Holy Spirit. Lourdes put her faith in Agnes.

While Agnes's treatment and Witt's curative ritual belong to complementary ways of conceiving of sickness and morality, hers is a more emphatic treatment and claim to power, and this was likely a motivating force behind Lourdes's ultimate choice, her faith and sentiment. While Witt is typically unassuming by nature and his domestic rituals like other village healers are relatively understated, Agnes's approach is at its height animated and fiery, her church and mass elaborate, and her reputation widespread. Hers is a rendition of traditional Kalinga healing bolstered by access to the Holy Spirit, supportive of and supported by Christianity, and as such associated in part with modernity. As she hammers home Apo Dios's message of displeasure in people's bad behaviour she also underscores those aspects of Christian moral order concerned with how people treat each other. However, while locals by and large uphold a Christian understanding of right and wrong in regards to daily social interaction, they arrive at this moral organization of social life not by way of assertions affirming a Christian eschatology, the doctrine of everlasting life (Ratzinger, 1994: 266; Feiner and Vischer, 1975: 126; Bultmann, 1934: 38-45), but rather through a traditional understanding of how *pariyao* (immoral conduct) is linked to *nachusa* (sickness of the body). This Kalinga axiomatic principle, as I discuss below, firmly contradicts elementary Christian cosmological assertions in that it does not assume the eternal existence of a person's *achogwa* (spirit), and it is not predicated on conceptions of an *achogwa's* punishment in the afterlife.

⁶⁹ As discussed in Ch III, sect 3.6.

Agnes meanwhile remains convinced that it is not without reason that people are afflicted with spiritually complicated sickness such as *aveling*. One day a neighbour of mine, Maria, told me about a young woman (not a regular attendee) who had turned up at the Sawate mass cradling an infant with a terrible weeping rash on its face and neck. I had traveled to Bontoc to access internet, recharge the batteries and replenish supplies, and had regrettably missed that Sunday's mass. Maria in a lowered voice offered her own assessment, namely that *pira'ing*, spirit-people who are said to live nearby, had scratched at the baby. She said that Agnes had called the young woman up to the front and with her finger rubbed a little spit on the affected area of the baby's face. I thought this unusual because I hadn't seen Agnes do this before or since, and took an interest in the story.

The following Sunday morning I was running late. The mass was underway and the woman in question was there with her infant, but standing outside the church, looking on by an open window. Curious, I approached to say hello and asked after the health of the child. When I caught sight of the extent of the rash I understood why the young mother had returned. However, considering that locals do not attribute spiritually complicated sickness to the moral failings of a baby, and knowing something of the back-biting (*chismis*) or gossip prevalent in the village, it was reasonable to think that this woman did not make space for herself on a bench inside because of a sense of shame linking the assumed unethical conduct of a parent to the sickness of their infant. From where we stood I could see the backs of the seated congregation and Agnes facing them, addressing them in her enigmatic fashion. I encouraged the woman to join me inside but she declined, preferring to remain detached, but within Agnes's view. When the time came Agnes cycled through her chosen patients for that morning but the young woman and her infant were not among them, and I didn't see her again at future masses.

Perfecto later confirmed what many others had told me previously, that if Apo Dios is not willing, Agnes cannot help. If, after being offered and taking the medicine, a person does not recover, it is hardly the failing of the medicine or Agnes, and certainly not Apo Dios; it must be the failing of the sick person themselves, or the parent of an infant, and it is with them that the accountability for atonement lies. A whole Sunday mass could come and go without Agnes calling a particular sick individual up to the front to receive medicine, sometimes even members of her own family who by and large tend to receive preferential treatment. The Sunday following my visit to their house, in a subdued voice Lourdes told me that although Agnes had treated her at the mass that morning, she had not been called up to receive medicine at the previous Wednesday evening gathering. Lourdes was plainly in some

discomfort, not to mention embarrassment, with her skin condition the way it was, and she wished for one more treatment from Agnes, but of course it was not her place to ask.

Agnes's curative practices in the mass address three distinct but interrelated aspects of healing. She addresses the sickness itself with the appropriate medicine, either oil or water; brings the affected person's attention to their lapse in moral conduct, which is understood to have brought about the sickness in the first place; and preaches that people need to respect Apo Dios and heed the message in the Bible – in this way indirectly supporting the endeavours of Catholic and Anglican clergy by encouraging locals to live more in line with Christian ideals. Here the locally pervasive assertions and convictions concerning *pariyao/chusa* which lie at the heart of Kalinga rituals of reparation, and define in large part people's relationship with Apo Dios and local spirits, are both articulated and re-affirmed through curative ritual.

4.7 *Manpagtu* – to know of and foretell events before they happen

It seemed whenever I could get discussion flowing on the topic of Agnes's mass people, especially those who were regular congregants, thought it important that I understood not only the miraculous cures Agnes could effect, but also that the words that came from Agnes's mouth (from Apo Dios) were veridical and concerned particular circumstances in the village or events there yet to happen. This knowledge came to her through the Holy Spirit. For instance, Agnes would say things like "Do not travel on the road going down to the township during these days, it will be dangerous," or "There is someone here in the village who is sick with a heart problem, but doesn't realise it yet," or "Do not stay out past nightfall in the fields as there has been a lot of rain and the paths are slippery." At one mass she warned us "Be careful of the vengeful spirit (*miratoy*) from the neighbouring village who is prowling around this month in search of the descendants of the Tarlao people who had killed him". People listen intently for these predictions (*pagtu*) and warnings, and Gasper, Lourdes and others would make it a point to seek me out to inform me when they were convinced that some of these *pagtu* had come true.

In a particularly poignant example, the only time it happened during the year, mid way through one Sunday mass Agnes looked like she was overcome with exhaustion, or somehow not feeling well, and she slumped to the bench and then onto the floor. She lay there supine, eyes closed and arms tightly by her side. I had seen her collapse like this years before, all her muscles rigid, eyes darting about under the lids. Typically someone would place a piece of clothing under her head then leave her be. I had been told that these are the times when the spirit instructs her. On this occasion, as on others, she came to on her own, but until she did

there was an uneasy quiet in the church. That was where the mass ended that Sunday. At Perfecto's prompt, we stood to recite the Creed, then people dispersed. There was never any talk of a hospital when Agnes passed out like this because for one thing one would need to come to terms with the relative distances to medical facilities and appreciate the transportation challenges in these remote *barangays*.⁷⁰ For another, her core congregants take it that what Agnes is experiencing is not any kind of sickness curable by doctors or other healers, but a form of temporary immersion into the spirit realm where she is in deep communion with a transcendent Other, and from which she will return when ready.

In the middle of the night mid-way through the following week there was more drama. I awoke to concerned voices outside, two at first, calling back and forth in the dark, then many, and by the time I dressed and came out with my flashlight a large group had gathered by the glow of kerosene lanterns outside my neighbour Samuel's house. Maria was in her kitchen window and told me to stay back, there is a "*natoy*" (a dead one). She said the visitor from Tabuk, the elderly man who had arrived with his nephew that very afternoon, a relative of Samuel's, had lost his balance in the dark urinating out of the window, had fallen awkwardly five or six feet, and broken his neck. Juan told me later that the old man didn't die immediately, and that someone from a house further up the hill was giving someone down below at the scene instructions for CPR that they had seen performed in a movie on TV. Sitting around at the gentleman's funeral the following day a group of women sidled up to me and whispered that this was the *pagtu*, this was why Agnes was feigning death, and that I should write this up in my research notes.

Agnes's ability to *manpagtu*, like her ability to give Apo Dios's medicine, finds its context through and is facilitated by *mani'ila*, her ability to 'see' and communicate with the unseen realm while possessed of the Holy Spirit. Yet while Agnes's ability to see beyond what normal people can see, and to effect cures by giving medicine, can be understood in terms of pre-existing Kalinga traditions, her capacity for *manpagtu*, for knowing things that have not happened yet but will, has, I am told, no local precedent. It is neither a part of the activities of other local spirit-world practitioners nor a part of the Catholic or Anglican liturgy of the mass. It is a direct result of her open ability to receive and pass on Apo Dios's words of reproach, concern and forewarning. Agnes's predictive abilities form one of the more innovative aspects of her mass, and as such her mass could be thought of as an emergent

⁷⁰ I once saw a man from a neighbouring village, delirious with abdominal pain, strung up in a blanket tied to both ends of a stout bamboo pole, being carried in turns by pairs of about twenty men hurrying along the road leading down to the township (easily 3hrs at walking pace) in the hope of getting onward transport to Bontoc (2 hrs by bus barring landslides or roadwork, and only one bus a day departing at midday).

tradition, a developing element of local culture predicated on long-established social, moral, and religious orders.⁷¹

4.8 Agnes's spirit-world inheritance

As mentioned above, there are a number of other individuals in the community who are understood to have the ability and knowledge to effect cures for particular illnesses associated with different parts of the body, such as abdomen, mouth, bones, joints, and so forth. The individuals acknowledged as being able to effect such cures are understood to be able to do so because a now-deceased relative of theirs had been known to have this same ability, which the spirit of this deceased relative had passed on to the particular individual through a dream or vision.⁷² These practitioners who give medicine and in other ways treat illness claim the eligibility to do so through their ancestors, and inherit their 'gift' in a similar way to that of, for example, those who perform the *to'or* rice rituals.⁷³

This form of inheritance also parallels the way in which the eldest daughter in a family would, when her mother passes away, come into possession of items such as her mother's agate bead necklace (*sinanpad*) and gold earrings (*lugwhay*), and also the family's rice fields, together with the key to the padlock typically kept on the family's rice granary and worn around the mother's neck along with her beads.⁷⁴ Sons would inherit those of a late father's personal items which do not accompany him into the coffin. The family house, assuming the father had built it and it was his to give, would also be allocated to the daughter whom the parents had agreed would inherit the bulk of the rice fields. Alternatively, if a family own many sizable *papayao*, 15 to 20 or more, these might get divided among daughters. Yet a given family's social circumstances might also include having daughters who graduate college and find jobs in urban centers, marry there, work overseas, or for

⁷¹ Alan Rumsey (2006) makes a similar point in light of his research among the Ku Waru of PNG, arguing that the production of cultural "novelty and revelation" can come about through people's engagement with the foreign, and this becomes more readily recognizable when juxtaposed with other well-established culturally specific schemata (2006: 63). He states of Ku Waru people that "actors draw upon a diverse range of more and less well established understandings and practices to achieve particular ends, and through their actions in part contribute to the further establishment, reproduction or transformation of those same practices and understandings," (*ibid.*). At the meta-level, Rumsey calls these processes of "emergent typification", as they are neither "type nor token" of older cultural forms, but rather an emergent, unprecedented type (2006: 63-4).

⁷² Dozier (1966), in discussing northern Kalinga 'herb specialists' or *mandadagop*, says something similar, in that only a particular individual who has "dreamed about the curative properties of certain kinds of plants and the manner in which they are to be used in the treatment of specific kinds of illness, [and] who has received specific instruction in a dream about these plants is entitled to employ them and only when administered by such an individual are they effective," (1966: 179).

⁷³ As discussed at length in Ch VI, sect 6.5, possibly the most important set of rituals in the village are the five *to'or* rituals conducted at specific times of the rice planting and harvest season. Each is conducted by a different individual who was originally informed of their task in the ritual by an ancestor spirit through a dream or vision.

⁷⁴ The bundles of dried rice from the year's harvest are kept in a small wooden store house usually built next to a family's house.

numerous other reasons live away from the village. As such the daughter who inherits her family's *papayao* need not be the eldest, but the eldest who marries and remains in the village.

While the inheritance of rice terraces through the matrilineal line likely contributes to the local tendency toward matrilocal residence – there is comprehensible practicality in a husband's decision to take up residence in his wife's family's house, or a new house built for her, but close to her rice fields – this is not always the case. I was told that the gendered lines of inheritance also flex to accommodate daughterless families, in which case the responsibility of growing the family's rice would necessarily fall upon the eldest son and his family. Perfecto, for one, is an only child, and he and Lourdes so far have two older sons, a daughter, and two younger sons. Young Bernadette is a bright student completing her higher education at boarding school in town and I suspect her parents want more than a farming life for her. The responsibility of growing rice will more than likely fall to one or both of the elder sons, one of whom will also inherit Perfecto's house.

Of importance here is the tradition of inheritance bestowed by closely related kin, and how this notion carries over into the inheriting of particular abilities and knowledge from the spirit-world. A pertinent example is Agnes's late father, Agpad, who was a gifted curer in his own right, although Perfecto, Gasper and others were quick to detract from his abilities by pointing out that he didn't use the Bible or call on the Holy Spirit with his practice.⁷⁵ His ability to treat sickness in his day, like many other traditional healers in the village now, is understood in terms of Kalinga *ugali*, whereas Agnes's current activities are decidedly expressed through Christian practices and in terms of Christian cosmology. What's more, Agnes's mother, Lamoy, now long since dead, was also considered a *mani'ila*. She could see the spirits of deceased people who would communicate with their living relatives through her. The genealogical link is obvious. Yet Agnes does not claim the authority or legitimacy to bring about cures, or to see beyond the human world, through any inherited 'gift' from long since transitioned relatives, although an avenue for this clearly exists. Agnes attributes both her own facility to see and communicate with spirits as well as her success in curative ritual, not to ancestors, but to Apo Dios's Holy Spirit which empowers her to conduct her Sunday mass.

Hence it is in this Kalinga understanding – wherein a chosen individual can be visited by a transcendent Other in dreams or waking dreams, being instructed or informed by them –

⁷⁵ In Agpad's defence, around the time he was alive (roughly about 40 years ago) the Catholic mission in Tarlao would have only been established for some three decades, and as such locals' adherence to Christian practices and assertions may not have been as prevalent then as now. It would make sense then that he might not have expressed his activities through a Christian framework.

that Agnes's possession by Apo Dios's Holy Spirit and guidance by her spirit-teacher finds its relevance and its local context. Such an acknowledged and accepted means of receiving from the spirit-world – of gaining power, advantage, or some level of influence over circumstances which would otherwise seem beyond human control – is one way in which the relationship locals have with a transcendent Other is made manifest. In this way Agnes's gift for communicating with spirits, predicting the future, and treating illness follows on from a pre-established and accepted understanding whereby locals customarily take human/spirit-world interaction to be facilitated through a non-waking state like dream or, in Agnes's case, spirit possession.

Moreover, for this indigenous mass to have taken the particular form that it did people needed to have accepted Agnes's healing activities and capacity for interacting with a transcendent Other as being consistent with long-established local precedents concerning the 'inheritance' from ancestors of such curing and spirit-world ability. For Agnes to have been accepted, at least in principle, by local Christian clergy there needed to have been set precedents for individuals throughout history to have been acknowledged as messengers of Apo Dios and in possession of divine revelation. As informants have indicated, both of these conditions – long-standing cultural traditions concerning curative ritual, and historical precedents legitimizing particular individuals as God's prophets and the like – were present in the nascent stages of this indigenous gathering, and are still present some two decades later. These combined circumstances continue to contextualize and validate Agnes's activities, construing them, moreover, as vernacularized Christianity on the one hand and transformed, or Christianized traditional healing on the other.

Insofar as this form of communication from the transcendent to the social realm, from spirits to humans, is accepted as a fundamental principle that affects aspects of Kalinga social and religious life, it parallels and complements other axiomatic principles such as those concerning Apo Dios's ever-watchfulness of human affairs (*agwad nan yungyung*) and readiness to punish wrongdoing (*chusa*). Such axioms, as Rappaport (1999) argues, ultimately come to be sanctified through people's unquestionable and seemingly unchanging assertions concerning the existence and power of gods and spirits.⁷⁶ In this way Agnes's treatment rituals, linked to moral tenets in the Bible and local social expectations relating to ethical conduct, follow on from cosmological axioms concerning human/spirit-world communication; which in turn are taken as veridical on the basis of sacred postulates regarding Apo Dios and spirits. As Apo Dios sanctifies Agnes's activities, so Agnes through

⁷⁶ Rappaport argues that people's claims about God or spirits become unquestionable in that the deemed transcendent nature of God and spirits puts them beyond objective verification, and hence falsification by human means. This characteristic of unquestionableness then becomes the defining quality of sanctity (1999: 281).

her curative rituals and other activity in the mass concomitantly reaffirms not only the nature and existence of Apo Dios, but also the Kalinga axiomatic principle linking *pariyao* to *chusa*.

4.9 Vernacularized Christianity and Christianized curative ritual

In Tarlao locals come to interpret a persistent sickness they or those around them have through the axiomatic principle which links *pariyao* to *chusa*, and which underscores much of Kalinga religion in general, and places the sick person and their deemed moral failings at the heart of the problem. The traditional resolution for what is deemed to be spiritually complicated sickness in the village involves butchering a prescribed number of chickens and pigs, displaying part of their remains around the house, granary or forge, allowing for spirits to breathe in the cooking meat as their share, and requesting that they now leave and not come back. This is typically done to placate offended or angry spirits, and make reparation for the wrongdoings committed in hopes of alleviating the sickness. If people come to Agnes for resolution, reparation does not typically include Kalinga sacrifice (*karu* or *mampisat*). She offers Apo Dios's own medicine, but healing is conditional. The catch is twofold. Those who have been called upon to receive the medicine, for it to be efficacious, must refrain from such acts of *pariyao* that are understood to have brought them to their current state of sickness or misfortune, conforming as they do so not only to many Christian ideals of right and wrong, but for the most part to ordinary Kalinga moral standards as well. Along with this, recipients must heed Apo Dios's teachings in the Bible, much of which also encourages the embrace of Christian virtues and the avoidance of sin, among other aspects of Christian doctrine.

Returning to the two points made above – that people take it that Apo Dios is behind Agnes's mass as well as the Catholic and Anglican services, and that the giving of Apo Dios's medicine and traditional Kalinga healing can be understood through the same axiomatic principle – I argue that the linking element in the latter makes the former locally comprehensible.

Although the overt references to Apo Dios at Agnes's Sunday gatherings render her activities for the most part uncontentious relative to local mainstream Christian representatives, there are implicit yet significant differences between assertions concerning the constitution of the cosmos relative to the distinct religious traditions co-occurring in the village, all of which acknowledge Apo Dios as their ultimate referent. Essentially, when clergy refer to Apo Dios they invariably draw on at least two millennia of Christian theology and related catechism supported by a textual record in the form of Old and New Testaments which, among all else,

links an individual's sin to the fate of their soul in a stratified afterlife. When Kalinga locals refer to Apo Dios they draw on generations-old assertions supported by local mythology in the form of an oral record linking locally defined wrongful conduct to retribution manifested in undesirable events and circumstances in this life, visited upon the body of the individual not on their soul.

As has been discussed above and noted for other parts and historical periods of the Philippines (notably Cannell, 1999, 2006; Rafael, 1988; and Pertierra, 1988), in contemporary Tarlao, doctrinally defined Christian notions concerning either desired and dreaded states or destinations of the soul are, if not disregarded wholesale, very much de-emphasized. Tarlao locals instead take it that after a funeral the spirit of the deceased (*achogwa*) lingers around the family house lot until on the tenth day, following a ritual offering of food for its journey, when it departs to an indeterminate 'elsewhere'. Of this vague, amorphous destination locals claim to have no knowledge. From the moment their tomb is sealed a deceased relative is rarely if ever spoken of and spirits of the deceased are typically not heard from again by those *mani'ila* such as Agnes who are capable of engaging with local spirits.

In other words, whereas in Christian theology the fate of a person's soul is explicitly linked to the extent of the doctrinally defined moral life he or she has led, Kalinga assertions are such that the fate of the spirit of the deceased has little to do with that individual's good or bad deeds when alive. Dozier (1966) states of the Kalinga that "Life on earth does not appear to affect existence in the hereafter [...] there are no 'rewards' or 'punishments' in the hereafter for the kind of life people have led on earth," (1966: 160). In this sense the idea of the Christian soul parallels to a certain extent but does not find equivalence in the Kalinga notion of the spirit of the deceased. Conversely, the Christian notion of an undesirable or dreaded state of affairs in the life to come, if it is to find local equivalence at all, arguably parallels the illness, injury and other ill-fortune a person suffers from time to time, compounding the quotidian challenges of raising a family and subsistence farming in what can be a physically unforgiving highland environment.

These two assertions concerning morality and this-worldly/other-worldly retribution, reflecting their own particular cosmologies, could hardly be more different while remaining within the same Christian framework. That they are understood to do so, however, is connected to a particular theistic synthesis over and above claims that Apo Dios of the Bible is behind Agnes's indigenous mass – it has in fact much to do with an explicit local conflation of the Kalinga God Kabunyan with Apo Dios. Local reasoning has it that there cannot

possibly be two Creator Beings in the world, thus the God referred to in the Bible must be Kabunyan of Kalinga mythology under a different name, and vice versa. As one fellow from the village representatively put it "There are not two Apo Dios, only one, so Kabunyan must be Apo Dios". But I argue there is more to Kalinga religious synthesis and widespread local participation in liturgical activity across diverse religious traditions than this conflation of deities alone.

In Kalinga Apo Dios is not only taken to be a transcendent, omnipotent, uncreated Creator, and so forth. In light of characteristics traditionally attributed to Kabunyan, Apo Dios is additionally understood to be protective of Tarlao people, ever-watchful of human affairs, displeased with unethical conduct, and the giver of punishment in the form of malady or other misfortune. While New Testament teachings common to the liturgies of the Catholic and Anglican Churches differ in this respect, in presenting the face of a benevolent and forgiving Apo Dios, these teachings do not annul the locally accepted truth concerning the ultimate singularity of humanity's Creator Being, regardless of name – Kabunyan in Kalinga language, or Apo Dios in Ilocano. Here I suggest that the fundamental Kalinga principle governing the interaction between humans and the non-manifest world, tying sickness and accidents to morality, has in the Kalinga context been assimilated to Apo Dios as one of Apo Dios's divine attributes.

Following on from this, in addition to people's claim that the same God is referred to at multiple local sites of Christianity (as well as referred to in local agricultural and life cycle rituals), Agnes, the Catholic and Anglican ministers, and ordinary locals alike all encourage respect, honesty, generosity and related attitudes and social dispositions conducive to harmony and peaceful relations across the community. In other words, both Kalinga vernacularized and nationally orchestrated Christianities similarly advocate a general moral order in society, while reaffirming the existence and power of the 'same' God – yet all the while drawing on disparate cosmological understandings of the nature of retribution linked to immoral conduct. That said, the social and moral commonalities across these religious sites tend for the most part to override the contradiction at the cosmological level, rendering this inconsistency for the most part unproblematic in people's daily lives.

This of course is not to say that there is no tension or contradiction between competing moralities, indigenous and Christian. As evident from my discussion in chapter II, there are, for example, lingering conflicting sentiments involved with the traditional celebration of retaliatory acts during inter-village conflict as heroic, and with interpreting those same acts as sinful in the eyes of God and Church. Here, following Rappaport, I wish to draw attention

to the important if at times subtle difference between statements simply concerning the existence and power of God/spirits (Ultimate Sacred Postulates) and statements concerning the nature of or characteristics attributed to God/spirits and which govern the paradigmatic relationships between the social and the supernatural (cosmological axioms). These latter are taken as axiomatic principles upon which many of society's rules, mores and expectations are based, including how to live harmoniously and peacefully.

The linking of misfortune to morality, moreover, does not necessarily need to be facilitated through Apo Dios – although for many people this is the way they express it. Of greater importance is the all-pervasive notion that punishment *would occur*, and it would be a consequence of moral and social transgression, and that it would be brought about by a transcendent Other (depending on circumstances this could be Apo Dios, Kabunyan, newly released spirits of the dead, long-dead ancestor spirits, or numerous other types of indigenous spirits). Accordingly, I argue that Kalinga religious activity is best understood not by giving primacy to the notion of the singularity of God as explicitly referred to across various local religious sites, but by giving primacy to the implicit overarching axiom through which local and trans-local religion and morality are understood.

In taking this approach a further connection becomes apparent. Namely that Agnes's giving of Apo Dios's medicine on the one hand and the performing of traditional Kalinga curative ritual on the other are predicated on this same axiomatic principle. As Agnes scolds sick members of her congregation for their improper conduct, so village healers and even ordinary residents, as a part of their domestic curative rituals, draw on Kalinga mythology and the morals inherent in traditional stories to illustrate that a sick person is sick precisely because of their own immoral actions. In other words, moral concerns, spiritually complicated sickness, and the multiplicity of curative ritual performed across the village are all brought together through the relational nature of *pariyao* and *chusa* – the same axiomatic principles that also contextualize trans-local Christianity in the village. And as Agnes's activities are a nexus of Christian practices and healing rituals, it is here that the *pariyao-chusa* axiom most complexly finds its local expression.

In light of this I argue that Agnes's mass can, on the one hand, be understood as a site of religious change, in that her activities are a *vernacularization* of nationally standardized forms of Christianity. On the other hand, insofar as her activities are both a continuation and a transformation of long-established Kalinga methods for treating spiritually complicated sickness, her mass tends toward a *Christianization* of traditional Kalinga curative practices. Hers is as much a Christianity made local as it is a Kalinga healing tradition made Christian,

and in a sense modernized. Aside from critically reflecting on these forms of transformation it is important to note that Agnes's activities are also drawn out of the social, moral and religious order of things. Although differences abound, her Sunday mass is nonetheless a form of Christianity, and the medicine she gives is nevertheless a form of Kalinga ritual treatment of sickness. As a whole, however, her mass is an innovation, something very much a part of but in and of itself different from other Kalinga religious, moral and curative institutions. Agnes's is an emergent practice, the processes of which continue to establish themselves over time as normal, customary elements of local tradition.

Foundational to this localized practice and emergent tradition is the regionally ubiquitous cosmological principle concerning transgression, retribution and reparation of which I have elaborated upon in this and the previous two chapters. While an important link between this chapter and the previous one is the focus on the contrasting forms that reparation takes, either ritual sacrifice or Apo Dios's medicine, one of the central concerns of the subsequent chapter turns on the question of the manifestation of spirit-world retribution, either hardship and suffering in this life or in the next. The difference is doctrinal and cosmological, and concerns the nature and fate of the human soul as understood from a traditional Kalinga perspective or from a Christian/Western one. The difference is also irreconcilable and becomes most salient at Kalinga funerals where locals' primary concern is the newly released and potentially dangerous spirit of the deceased, while conversely the presiding Christian minister's concern is the deliverance into God's care and divine judgement of a Christian soul.

Chapter V

Funerals, blankets and the distinction between Kalinga and Christian notions of the afterlife



Bundles of rice to accompany the spirit of the deceased to an indeterminate 'elsewhere'

In the previous chapter I made the argument that in Tarlao Kalinga a prevalent, underlying cosmological principle links and makes compatible trans-local Christianity and the indigenous rendering of local Christianity configured around a woman who through an 'inheritance' from the spirit-world is acknowledged to have the ability to see and communicate with non-manifest others, including Apo Dios/God. This axiomatic principle ties a person's moral failings, their acts of *pariyao*, to spirit-world attributed sickness and misfortune, or *chusa*/punishment. I made the argument that as this principle concerns retribution from a transcendent Other for sin or moral transgression, it can equally frame, on the one hand, long-established Kalinga interpretations of 'accidents', tragedy and human suffering and, on the other, Christian teachings concerning the 'economy of salvation' (Cannell, 2006: 144-46), that is the doctrine that a person's moral or sinful life on earth will in the afterlife secure their everlasting bliss or eternal damnation respectively.

A common denominator with this understanding is that Apo Dios is ever-watchful of human affairs, disapproves of people's wrongdoings, and will punish trespasses. But traditional

Kalinga religious assertions and practices and trans-local Christianity differ markedly in people's understanding of how this retribution is expressed, particularly regarding whether it manifests in this life or/and the life to come. The latter expression of retribution is necessarily predicated on distinct notions of there being a non-manifest part of a body that is released upon death. Christian notions of salvation are not only founded on the existence of a moral God, or an "ethicized" cosmos (Parish, 1994: 105), but they also presuppose a human spirit or soul which lives on after death and is thereupon held accountable for the earthly life of its corporeal other half. The fate of the soul in Christian doctrine, moreover, is tied into distinct destinations or states of being – heaven, hell, and in the Catholic tradition an intermediary state, purgatory.⁷⁷

People in Kalinga, however, in regards to their traditional religious activity, assert no such thing. For them the spirit of the deceased (*achogwa*) upon death typically remains within the vicinity of the house for a short period, after which time it is thought to depart for an indeterminate destination away from the village, sometimes referred to simply as *aschi* (elsewhere, as opposed to 'here'). On the tenth day after entombment the bereaved family offer the *achogwa* a small quantity of sticky rice in an *upupican* (a token 'lunchbox', a tiny basket woven from stick-grass) for its journey to wherever it is going. Attesting to the ambiguity with which locals' tend to approach this topic, some people also say that spirits can continue to frequent their familiar haunts or work-places around the village. More importantly, however, the amorphous, imperfectly defined destination for human spirits in Kalinga understanding is neither considered a reward nor a punishment for a person's earthly activities, and hence has little connection with the moral state of affairs of the living.⁷⁸

Steven Parish (1994), whose work with the Newar of Nepal probes essential themes in Hindu moral life, finds similarity between the concept of karma and the concepts of heaven and hell, basing his idea of that convergence on a presupposition that within the cosmos is "a built-in capacity for determining what fates people deserve and for ensuring they get what they deserve. The universe contains a heaven for those who have been virtuous, and a hell

⁷⁷ The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1994) states that the soul is immortal (1994: 93). It further states that each person's soul "will be rewarded immediately after death in accordance with his works and faith," and that each "receives his eternal retribution [...] either entrance into the blessedness of heaven – through a purification [purgatory] or immediately – or immediate and everlasting damnation," (266-67). It states that to die in mortal sin without repenting is to remain separated from God forever, and that this "state of definitive self-exclusion from communion with God and the blessed is called 'hell'" (269).

⁷⁸ As mentioned in the previous chapter, both Cannell (1999: 152-53) and Rafael (1988: 170, FN3) report similar considerations concerning contemporary and historical Filipino estimations of heaven and hell.

for those who have sinned,” (1994: 105). Insofar as this is the case, Parish states that “The idea of an afterlife has been infused with ethical significance,” (1994: 105-6). But here he notes that this is a cultural determinant, not “a logical requirement of the concepts of afterlife and salvation,” (*ibid.*). Referencing Obeyesekere, and consistent with relevant traditions in Kalinga, Parish notes that in “other religions, a person may simply pass on to another realm or state of being in the afterlife, neither heaven nor hell,” (*ibid.*).

Whereas in the previous chapter much of the focus was on illuminating the underlying similarities between trans-local Christianity and a Christianity made local through a traditional Kalinga framework, in this chapter I endeavour to illustrate important distinctions between the cosmological underpinnings of these historically and doctrinally distinct religious orders. Their ultimate incompatibility, I argue, lies in opposing assertions concerning the nature and fate of the soul. This difference becomes most evident in local interpretations of sickness (*sakit*) and misfortune (*disgrasia*), but also during the course of funerals (*baguwon*). The moment a person dies and their *achogwa* separates from their body, and the days immediately following, call for much deference towards the newly released spirit because among other things it is understood to be a threat to the living, particularly if the spirit is in some way offended or due reverence is not paid it over the course of the funeral wake. An *achogwa* disgruntled in this way can cause disturbing dreams, bodily pain, or grave sickness in members of the bereaved family or sometimes other close relatives. It is also a time when the surviving spouse of a deceased wife or husband needs to ritually protect themselves from their deceased partner’s *achogwa*, who might try to entice the still-living spouse’s *achogwa* to come away with it, leaving the spouse fatally ill. It is at funerals where the cosmological differences between traditional Kalinga and trans-local Christian professions concerning the afterlife are made most explicit. It is also at funerals where the paradox of more or less equal participation in contradictory doctrines is inescapable.

Alongside the undertaking of many long-established Kalinga traditions concerning the dead, a Catholic or Anglican priest or catechist will preside over the final rites and direct prayers to Apo Dios for the safekeeping of the newly departed soul. While the bereaved family, most relatives and many neighbours participate to various degrees in the Christian proceedings, many will also emphatically address the deceased in the coffin with emotional outpourings, implicitly asserting that the *achogwa* is also present, watching and potentially dangerous. It is at this stage that these co-occurring and in many ways compatible religious orders diverge in one of their most fundamental assertions – whether the spirit of a deceased person is understood to transcend to a doctrinally defined Christian afterlife or remain around the

family house for a period longer before receding to an amorphous spirit-world 'elsewhere' which locals unanimously admit they have very little idea about and with which they have little concern. Yet not only is space made for a church representative to lead those gathered in prayer for the soul of the deceased, and to give final blessings as the tomb is sealed, but these Christian elements have become accepted and even required additions to the overall Kalinga funeral process. Here, despite the fundamental disjuncture between doctrines concerning the soul, one important way in which locals bring components of both religious orders together in the entombment of their loved ones is through unanimous assertions conflating the apical divinities of Kalinga and trans-local Christian religious traditions.

In this chapter I also critically examine change and continuity pertaining to shifts in practices relative to the funeral context, as well as some of the modernizing influences on Kalinga traditions more broadly. Examples of the former include the abandonment of the use of the Kalinga 'death chair' (*sarachil*, in which historically the deceased was seated upright for the duration of the funeral) in favour of western-style coffins. Change, arguably, often occurs within or together with continuity, and vice versa. One feature of Kalinga funerals which according to locals has remained constant over the generations is use of the *binaliwon* funeral blanket, a cotton textile with which people traditionally enfold the dead in their coffins. These types of funerary textiles are closely associated with death and spirits of the dead, and are thought to actually bring about death to those who tempt fate with them, for instance use them to sleep with or otherwise treat them inappropriately. These blankets are taken to possess a particular potency derived from their close association with *achogwa*, and their contiguity with corpse and coffin. This allows *binaliwon* blankets not yet used to entomb a deceased person to on occasion transcend the funeral context and be used in other ritual activity. Moreover, in addition to spirit-world connections, related families over time circulate *binaliwon* blankets among themselves through a tradition of blanket-giving at funerals, honouring the deceased while reaffirming kin-relatedness and family alliance in the process.

The *binaliwon* is an indispensable feature at Kalinga funerals and intimately linked to *achogwa*, and as such the *binaliwon* helps contextualize an analysis contrasting assertions about *achogwa* with those of the Christian notion of the soul – which is itself an analysis which I situate within the broader investigation of the co-occurrence, both complementary and competing, of trans-local Christianity and Kalinga religious activity. After an initial outline of Kalinga funeral blankets and their history, I will proceed with a basic description of contemporary Tarlao village funerals; an examination of the deference shown to and protective measures taken against *achogwa*; the shifts in ritual settings into which people

bring *binaliwon* blankets; the circulatory trajectories of blankets among related families; and an exploration of exogenous and endogenous influences and forces as they have effected change in the presence of continuity – in this case relative to the funeral context and underpinned by cosmological understandings of the nature of human spirits and the afterlife.

5.1 *Achogwa* and *binaliwon* blankets

Other than a coffin carpentered out of pine planks especially for the occasion, Kalinga funerals always include a store-bought funeral blanket called a *binaliwon*. Kalinga *binaliwon* blankets are a type of striped cotton textile which people use to enfold the deceased at three day long, village-wide funeral gatherings. Distinguished by its broad, lengthwise, alternating dark and white stripes, lending it a striking appearance in comparison with many other Kalinga textiles, the *binaliwon* blanket is sufficient in length and breadth to completely wrap a deceased adult. People use this blanket to fold over the deceased who is placed in a wooden coffin that typically rests on the floor in the main room of the bereaved family's house.⁷⁹ On the final day of the wake the lid is sealed, blanket and all, and the coffin entombed on the family's house lot. A culturally and religiously requisite object at funerals, a *binaliwon* blanket is something locals understand the spirit of the deceased needs, and takes with it into the spirit-world. Due to this strong association it has with *achogwa*, or the spirit of a deceased person, the *binaliwon* has come to have ritual application in the village which transcends the funeral context. I begin an exploration of this relationship with an introductory vignette.

Peter, a farmer in his fifties, a skilled artisan and former catechist for the local Anglican Church, is an active member of Tarlao village. He was never short on stories of Tarlao's past, or on enthusiasm in relating aspects of its culture to me. He lives with his wife and young sons in a modest wood-plank house on the west side of Tarlao. During one of our regular conversations Peter spoke to me of Koya, a man from a neighbouring village who had many years ago come to Tarlao to exact revenge on an enemy, but who had himself met with a violent end – Tarlao men had seen him approaching armed with a head-axe and had lain in ambush for him. Even now, at nights during certain months of the year, Koya still comes to Tarlao, but now as a *miratoy*, a type of fearsome spirit (or as Peter likes to say a “devil”) who prowls the village in search of the descendants of those who had killed him. Locals say that

⁷⁹ By comparison more southerly Cordillera groups like the Ifugao use striped cotton textiles called *gamong* and *baya'ong* blankets for their funeral ceremonies, for which there appears to be notably more historical and contemporary literature in contrast to the Kalinga blanket (e.g., Casal, 1981; Milgram, 1999; Barton, 1938).

to this day Koya's spirit still carries its weapons, and wears a *binaliwon*, or funeral blanket, around its shoulders.

The potent imagery Peter describes, of restless, vengeful spirits of the dead, not only ties into the reciprocity of vengeance as it plays out in inter-village conflict, but it also reinforces the ideas around the sorts of spirit-world attributed retribution for wrongdoing that influences much of Kalinga social life and bridges morality and misfortune. That such spirits wear *binaliwon* blankets as part of their regalia arguably derives from locals' historical and contemporary tradition of entombing their dead with these blankets, and which may in turn perpetuate the sense of caution or apprehensiveness people have toward the *binaliwon*. Many consider it unimaginable, for example, to sleep with a *binaliwon* or use one against the cold, interpreting such actions as a portent of one's own death. For the same reason people do not display or leave *binaliwon* blankets openly lying around the house and tend not to handle them unnecessarily. Brenda, a young college graduate from Tarlao and member of a Baptist Church in Tabuk who is quick to dismiss as pagan anything to do with old Tarlao rituals (*kaugalian*), told me emphatically that it strikes fear into her to even look at a *binaliwon*.

For locals the *binaliwons'* physical contiguity with corpse and coffin together with its enduring association with funerary practices and death indelibly links these textiles to *achogwa*. As mentioned, people take it that a person's spirit permanently separates from the body at death, and that it lingers around the house and surrounds during the period of heightened activity at a funeral. It will eventually become still and no longer heard from, but for at least the first ten days after death it still poses a threat to people. Persistent sickness in the weeks following a funeral, particularly in children, tends to be attributed to a dissatisfied or offended *achogwa*. People often attribute disturbing dreams or 'accidents' in the period following a funeral to an interpretation of deficiency in ceremonial proceedings. It is not uncommon for onlookers to be critical if they notice any lack in ritual procedure or sufficient attention paid to the deceased. Being most intimately connected to the deceased in life, and now most responsible for the deceased in death, the people most likely to fall foul of an unquiet *achogwa* are the bereaved family themselves.

Families in possession of *binaliwon* blankets would normally shelve them out of sight as they are a reminder of death and unsafe to have open in a family's living space. All agree that a *binaliwon* should be treated with caution, but when these blankets are brought into the liminal space of a funeral, as described below, there is a subtle shift in the way people treat them. For example, such blankets might be indifferently piled up on the floor to make room

for more women to enter and sit down in the main room. Newly purchased blankets might not even make it out of cellophane shopping bags. I have seen people casually drape gift blankets over a clothes-line that happened to be strung across the room, brushing them out of the way when the room started to fill to capacity for hymn and prayer sessions. Here these blankets' potency is displaced when brought into a funeral context as people's attention is drawn to something immanently more threatening, the lingering spirit of the deceased.

5.2 The *binaliwon* in historical perspective

Among historical reports of customs associated with highland funeral blankets is Fay-Cooper Cole's early twentieth century account of the Tinguian, a group from what is now the highland province of Abra, to the west of Kalinga Province. He describes a funeral ceremony wherein the deceased was wrapped in a mat prior to burial (1922: 283-92). Although for the Tinguian of this period cotton mortuary blankets may not have yet been in use, the tradition of wrapping the dead was apparently well established. In commenting on old practices of the Ifugao, a Cordilleran ethno-linguistic group to the southeast of Kalinga, Milgram (1999) notes that prior to the introduction and use of wooden coffins the Ifugao wrapped their dead only in blankets. Barton in his historical account of upland Ifugao life in the 1930s relates an incident in which a wealthy Ifugao family acquired an imported *gamong* blanket for a high price, in this instance a large pig. A first for this village, the family's intention was to use the woven cotton blanket as a shroud (1963: 148). Historically in Tarlao village and its neighbouring communities, people had once fashioned clothing out of beaten and softened tree bark known as *so'ka*.⁸⁰ To make blankets people used another type of tree known as *to'ra*, which yielded a bark cloth not as soft as *so'ka*, and was a practice which I was told was revived by some out of necessity during the lean years of the Second World War. Despite the hardship however, locals in Tarlao used expensive woven cotton blankets, not bark cloth blankets, to bury their dead.

Some Tarlao elders I spoke with recalled that in the time of their forefathers the *binaliwon* was the first type of cotton blanket people in upper Kalinga were able to obtain. One such elder is Whonas, Peter's elderly father-in-law and one of the village's master basket-weavers. He is stooped now and walks with a stick, no longer able to contribute to his family by working in the fields. He spends his days in his daughter's house stripping bamboo shafts and paring lengths of rattan that his grandsons harvest from the forest. On occasions when Peter was able to organize a free morning we would go to drink local coffee with Whonas and listen to his stories. One day the old man spoke of the great efforts people went to in the old

⁸⁰ Bark-cloth was also made from the *sopot* tree, northern Kalinga (Dozier, 1966: 128-29), and elsewhere in Kalinga from the *alim't* and *sugaga* trees (Kron-Steinhardt, 2006: 131).

days to procure cotton blankets for funerals. "Once many years ago in Tarlao," he recalled, "a whole family died in a house fire and for the funeral their relatives exchanged a rice field for a cotton blanket – imagine that, one whole rice field!"⁸¹ Recollections like this are telling, not only for the preference people historically had for enfolded the dead in woven textiles, a preference that has now become an indispensable aspect of virtually all contemporary Kalinga funerals, but also for the enormous value originally placed on these once exotic blankets. That such an expense was incurred for a mortuary blanket suggests a certain elevation of the bereaved family's social standing and level of resources. It also aligns with an imperative families have for consoling their deceased, whose lingering spirit has the potential to bring them more tragedy, through sickness.

Then as now, textile weaving on back-strap looms was not a common practice in the Kalinga region. According to Whonas, in the early days these blankets were obtained through trade for sacks of husked rice which men would carry along the north-south track to the township of Bontoc, a day and a half's walk away. The textiles Tarlao men acquired in Bontoc originated with lowland people known to Tarlao locals simply as *Binaliwon*, and the blankets these lowlanders wove and traded accordingly came to be known as *binaliwon* blankets.⁸² Invariably Tarlao residents I asked would say at a guess that these textiles first originated in Ilocos on the western coast of Luzon, or the neighbouring province of Abra, but the general consensus seems to be from "elsewhere". Currently weavers from the central Kalinga town of Lubuagan produce many of the region's textiles, including *binaliwon* blankets. These weavings can be readily bought in Tabuk and in other towns or municipalities around the province. Blankets can also vary in the tightness of weave, and this I was told partly reflects the skill of the weaver and partly the type or quality of the thread that is used. Peter, ever concerned with the incremental loss, as he saw it, of Kalinga culture, complained that some of the *binaliwon* blankets being produced these days are not as dark as the traditional ones, the 'real ones'.

5.3 Contemporary Kalinga Funerals

There were eight deaths in the village during my fieldwork, half being from old age, while the rest were health related. On the morning of one of these occasions I was visiting with a local

⁸¹ Depending on their size, a rice field (*payao*) may range in value anywhere from P60,000 – P100,000 (2008). They are typically inherited matrilineally, and form the basis for agricultural activity in these highland communities.

⁸² In effect the Kalinga the term '*binaliwon*' is a derivative of *baliwon*, which is the alternate name of a Cordilleran group from the city of Paracelis in Mountain Province, to the south of Kalinga. They are more commonly known as Ga'dang, and are a people whose reputation for fine weaving is renowned throughout the Cordillera. Historically these people are thought to have produced and traded textiles with Kalinga people (Pastor-Roces, 1991: 55).

family when news reached us of a *natoy*, a death in the village. A 17 year old boy from a house on Tarlao's west side had passed away. The boy, who had been an invalid since birth, had apparently succumbed to high fever that morning. By the time I got to the bereaved family's house some men had already begun to gather quietly around an open space near a cluster of cramped houses. The mother was crying and cradling the boy in her arms in the narrow doorway of their small house. Two older women sat in silence on the floor in the dimly lit interior. Moments later a third woman arrived with a *binaliwon* blanket and put it down just inside the doorway, indicating that it was for the boy. I could see that the women inside had prepared water in a large stainless steel basin for washing the body and had clothes ready to dress the boy. After a while they got up and tried to coax the boy's body from his mother's arms, but inconsolable she clung to him and cried all the louder. One of the men sitting in the yard outside, Morris, likely in response to the swelling emotions of the mother at that point, called me over to join him and the others. Smiling he offered me *momma* (betel nut). By afternoon most of the village had gathered at the house. The majority would return to their own homes later that night but gather again the following day, and the day after that for the entombment.

As was the case with this boy, soon after there is a death in Tarlao, someone with access to a cell phone will send text messages of the news to relatives in distant towns so the whole family can gather and have the opportunity to pay their last respects. A swarm of activity can be expected as family and neighbours come together to help out with funeral preparations. Cauldrons, planks, woodworking and cement mixing tools may need to be borrowed from other households. Relatives string up one or more large blue tarpaulins adjacent to the house to provide additional areas of shelter for guests to sit. Women customarily remain inside the house with the deceased, while men congregate outside under the temporary shelters or wherever they can find space. Carpenters soon commence work on the plank coffin (*karungkung*), while others start on the cement tomb.

After being washed and dressed, the deceased is laid out on a *binaliwon* blanket and when all is ready many hands lift the blanket, body and all, up and into the waiting coffin. Loose ends hanging out over the sides are folded over the deceased before the lid is nailed closed on the third day and the coffin entombed. Occasionally a second *binaliwon* blanket might be folded and placed inside to support the head, but this is not always the practice. Small groups of women alternate in keeping vigil over the deceased throughout the night, constantly soothing the deceased and its spirit, and during the day they might snatch moments of sleep in a corner of the once again crowded room. Others might also remain at the wake until dawn, sitting around a fire outside for long sessions of praise-singing from old

hymnals brought over from the Catholic or Anglican church. Members of the bereaved family would serve hot sweet coffee from time to time to those who have chosen to remain overnight.

Most Kalinga funeral wakes last three days – the day of death being counted as the first day, with the final entombment typically taking place on the afternoon of the third day. Three-day funerals are held for those who die of old age, or any ordinary frailty associate with the very elderly. These sorts of funerals for the most part have a light-hearted air to them as it is customary to honour and celebrate a man or woman who has reached a venerable age, has normally accomplished much in his or her life, and has many grandchildren to their credit, which is something to which everyone there would aspire. Wakes given for accidental or intentional death, or for children, are held for either two or four days, and are more sombre affairs. The local significance attached to the odd or even numbers of days here is related to the reason locals give for the odd or even number of domestic animals sacrificed in *mampisat* and *karu* rituals (Ch III, sect 3.4), and is supported in Kalinga mythology, with traditional stories told of the Kalinga deity Kabunyan and the earliest days of the world (Ch IV, sect 4.6). The even number of days of a funeral for an unexpected death is intended to send whatever ill-fortunate circumstances that might be surrounding the death or associated with it away to some place else, away from the village. In this way locals hope that further ill-timed death will not reoccur in the community. Conversely, with an odd number of days people hope that all who attend the funeral would similarly live a long, productive life, and leave behind numerous grandchildren similar to the deceased.⁸³

In contrast to the bereaved family's exhausting efforts in hosting the crowds, there are long idle hours to be passed for village residents who gather for a funeral. Some might bring out worn chess boards with mismatched pieces, while others might spend the long hours in conversation, or weaving soft grass brooms, or take the opportunity to get their hair trimmed out in the yard. Traditionally hosts provide male guests with locally distilled sugarcane wine (*wayas*) which is sometimes additionally fortified with Filipino gin (Ginebra) and served in bamboo tubes from large ceramic jars. Some teenagers take a funeral gathering as an opportunity for courting. At one funeral that year Perfecto's eldest son Bernabas spent most of an afternoon pressing his fashionable jeans with a coal iron and sprucing himself up before joining a group of his male friends to see if any city relatives and new girls had turned up to the wake.

⁸³ Intentions and hopes for particular results by adhering to traditions concerning odd or even numbers of days parallel similar intent and reasoning behind reparatory ritual sacrifice, and is open to the same critique Austin (1962) levels at performative or illocutionary acts and their intended or unintended perlocutionary consequences. I take this up in detail in chapter III, sect 2.

At funerals, and at an enormous personal cost, the bereaved family will organize to have a *carabao* (water buffalo) slaughtered and provide a share of meat for all households in the village.⁸⁴ For an exceptionally large or important village funeral two *carabao* might be slaughtered, such as for the funeral of the mayor's father that year. At another funeral earlier in the year my neighbour Gasper could not raise the funds to provide a *carabao* but had a cow slaughtered instead. Cows are less valued but still tremendously expensive. In a community where even chickens are saved for occasions when visitors arrive, or for ritual activity, and where most meals simply consist of rice and vegetables, the prospect of *carabao* meat at funerals, weddings and peace-pact celebrations is a treat for all. In fact the swell of people who gather at funerals tends to fall away considerably when by the third day families receive their three chunks of meat on a bamboo skewer and go home. People who do stay right to the end tend to be those who are close to the family. The bereaved family, as hosts, traditionally does not share in the distributed *carabao* meat (*utung*), but instead reserves a small pig for themselves (*achaver*), which they would butcher after the entombment and after visitors have gone home. This is a strict interdiction and the bereaved family would typically pay careful attention to this and other ritual protocol surrounding a funeral in order to avoid the displeasure of the spirit of the deceased who is understood to remain around the house even after entombment.

Oftentimes a family would include small personal items in the coffin for the deceased's spirit to take with it when it departs the village. These are typically items for which the *achogwa* may otherwise later return, and they might include things like favourite clothes, sunglasses, smoking pipes, even wads of tobacco and a box of matches. Heirlooms, however, like a woman's agate bead-necklace or gold *lugway* earrings would almost certainly be inherited by daughters in the family. Something else people might include in the tomb so their loved one will have food to take with them is a token of the family's rice harvest, which is what happened that year at Alwod's funeral (see photograph at the top of this chapter).

Alwod, an elderly and frail gentleman when I had first met him, had been an artilleryman with the Philippine army, had fought against the Japanese during World War II, and had been blinded in one eye when his weapon misfired. On the last day of his funeral many people gathered around the tomb for final prayers and relatives nailed the coffin lid shut and manoeuvred it into the tomb. Amidst the crowding and bustle of activity an elderly relative

⁸⁴ The longer a funeral runs the more costly it becomes for the bereaved family to host funeral guests. If a family needs to prolong a wake so that absent town or city-dwelling relatives have time to arrive to pay their respects they will need to take into consideration the additional costs as well as the *ugali* or customs concerning odd and even numbered days.

managed to wedge a few bundles of harvested rice in what little clearance there was between the top of the coffin and the roof of the tomb. With a similar intent the deceased is wrapped in a *binaliwon* so that the *achogwa* will have a blanket to keep itself warm in the spirit-world. While the physical textile enshrouds the corpse in its coffin, some people say that the *achogwa* takes with it a sort of 'spirit form' of the blanket, and so the textile too transcends into the spirit-world. After the tomb opening is cemented over people tend not to speak of the deceased again as the understanding is that the *achogwa* might be drawn to the sound of its name, an undesirable situation because of the persistent illness spirits are thought to cause by coming into contact with humans.

Invariably, older female relatives constantly care for the deceased throughout a wake, keeping a candle lit on the coffin, lamenting the deceased and, if a factory made casket is used, periodically wiping down the small glass panel set into the lid to keep the deceased's face in view. Much of this is done to assuage the *achogwa*. When out of town relatives arrive on the second or third day, commonly one or more would come into the house and, before greeting anyone else, would cry loudly and long at the foot of the coffin, lamenting their dead relative. People already seated in the room would fall quiet, and when the mourner had paid his or her respects and said what they had come to say to the deceased they might find a place to sit among the women or go outside to be with the men, and quiet conversation would pick up again as the hours wound on.

At one Tarlao funeral about a dozen or more clean-cut, college-aged Baptist congregants, some of whom were related to the bereaved family, arrived from Tabuk. At one point late in the evening they all filed into the main room, sitting on the floor among the older women who had likely been there all day, occasionally wailing in sorrow but mostly keeping the deceased company. The group brought hymn books with them and began to sing in full voice, hymn after hymn until they had exhausted their hymnals, at which point they filed out again, leaving the deceased to the company of its older relatives and neighbours. Some moments after the group moved outside the two or three women sitting closest to the head of the coffin resumed wiping down the glass inset, crying softly and effusively attending to the deceased. Here I watched as the room transitioned from a scene of traditional deference-making, focused solely on the deceased, to one of Christian praising of God and God's salvation, and back again. The two groups in this case barely acknowledged each other, but gave each other space, and respected each other's *ugali*, their particular way of doing things relative to social, historical and religious traditions. There was, however, a certain catholicity of spirit, an inclusivity of guests at the funeral, but not a merging of practices, as here there

were clearly two different focal points – God’s salvation on the one hand, and on the other the traditionally conceived *achogwa*.

On the following day at this same funeral, at about midday when the cement tomb was ready and people had started to fill the room for the final blessings, Leonard the Catholic catechist stood in the centre to lead everyone in prayer. He read a passage from his Bible then, eyes turned up towards the tin roof and rafters, he spread his hands and called on Apo Dios’s blessings for the soul of the deceased. When he paused to let others speak if they wanted, two older relatives, each grief stricken, addressed the deceased directly, expressing their sorrow and regret. Many relatives and neighbours over the course of a funeral weep and recall with the deceased the good times they had had together, how they worked the fields together, sang and danced together, and that the deceased would be missed. But they also tell the deceased (or rather, their *achogwa*) to go now and not come back to their home where their family continues to live, that this is a place for the living, and they must not stay here. Such prayers, nostalgia and consoling, set against formal Christian prayers to God for the soul of the deceased, highlight the compatibilities and incompatibilities of disparate religious elements brought together in the same cultural arena, geographical space, and context. In some respects, insofar as the Church claims its soul and the bereaved family averts danger by providing no reason for an *achogwa* to remain and take revenge on them, these persisting, contrasting cosmological viewpoints cause little tension in people’s everyday lives.

5.4 Deference to and protection from *achogwa*

Given that the threat of illness or death from a newly released spirit is of particular concern to especially the bereaved family, but also to other relatives of the deceased, family members give much consideration to the dead one and its *achogwa*. This attention is typically expressed on the one hand as deference, almost obsequiousness, to the loosed spirit who is taken to be in the room or nearby, and on the other as protective measures against it.

At the funeral of my neighbour Gasper’s elderly father-in-law, which was held over a succession of hot, clear sky days, a surplus *binaliwon* was hung above the coffin, strung from the corners of the roof like a canopy. According to Gasper this was done to deflect or absorb the sun’s heat radiating off the tin roofing, and as such to impede decomposition over the course of the wake. While this particular use of the textile may have been improvised according to the particular climatic conditions that week, the employment of a *binaliwon* to comfort a dead person in his or her last few days with family and community is consistent with the deference shown in its use in lining a plank coffin, supporting the deceased’s head, and (in spirit form) providing warmth for the *achogwa* in the afterlife. As an aside, that a

binaliwon can be spread and hung up inside a house without fear of it attracting death only underscores its state of inertness when brought into a setting where it is no longer the object of attention or the source of potential danger.

Not all *binaliwon* blankets brought into a funeral setting play a direct role with corpse and spirit. For instance, a *binaliwon* might on occasion be offered as a game prize at 'celebratory' funerals of elder members of the community – occasions where people acknowledge the achievement of a long life, of raising many children and grandchildren, and a life culminating with a natural death, not one cut short by sickness, accident or ill-intention. While the loss of an elderly loved one is of course still mourned and their *achogwa* still consoled, there is not the same sense of overall solemnity, sadness, bewilderment or anger as there was, for example, at the funeral of Juan and Maria's ten year old. There tends to be a more relaxed atmosphere, and afternoon games and competitions are often organized for the entertainment of onlookers. One such game, the *bitbitnag*, is a vigorous thigh-slapping duel taken up between two volunteer combatants whose tongue-in-cheek posturing as they take turns winding up to deliver stinging open-handed blows to each other's legs always draws great laughter.⁸⁵ The eventual winner would be awarded such prizes as a winnowing basket or long-blade work knife, or sometimes even one of the surplus *binaliwon* blankets donated at the funeral (as described below).

Much that people do at funerals to lament or console the *achogwa*, including honouring the deceased with a *binaliwon* blanket, is arguably equally undertaken to protect themselves and their family from spiritually complicated illness or misfortune in the days and weeks following interment. One morning Peter, in response to questions I had asked him regarding the funeral years previously of his first wife, showed me how a *binaliwon* is traditionally used by the surviving spouse during a funeral. Demonstrating with a *binaliwon* he had borrowed for the purpose, Peter sat with the blanket like a shawl around his shoulders and pulled it up over his head so it completely covered him, face to foot. He proceeded with some awkward laughter, some self-consciousness. Outside of the funeral context this was just the sort of behaviour that would bring about spirit-world repercussions. But it was important to him that I understood this aspect of local culture. The surviving spouse, he told me, does this to remain hidden from the deceased's *achogwa*, who it is believed would still be drawn to their former partner and might try to entice the *achogwa* out from their still living spouse, so both spirits would be together again.⁸⁶ Death would soon follow because a body cannot live

⁸⁵ This game, Dozier notes, is also played at funerals in Poswoy, northern Kalinga (1966: 113).

⁸⁶ Scott (1974) reports on a similar assertion associated with historical religious practices found in Ifugao (a Cordillera province to the southeast of Kalinga). Quoting from the 1897 ethnography of Fray Juan Villaverde, a Spanish friar who lived some 25 years in the region, Scott reports that Ifugao locals

without its *achogwa*. Peter recalled that at his wife's funeral he sat covered up like this day and night, at times bundled up in a corner trying to sleep, sweating in the stifling heat.

Alternatively, a *binaliwon* could be strung up like a screen in the bereaved family's house, partitioning off a small corner of the room where the surviving spouse would remain concealed from their partner's *achogwa* until the coffin is taken outside for entombment.⁸⁷ This was the case at the funeral of a local woman who died of cancer leaving behind seven children, the youngest of whom she had still been nursing. In situations like this people believe the *achogwa* will be strongly attached to the living, and unlikely to leave peacefully. Indeed, this woman's spirit, apparently seeking assurance her children would be looked after, was thought to be the cause of many of her relatives' pains and sickness in the weeks after her funeral. For the entire funeral period her husband remained behind the protecting *binaliwon* partition, surreptitiously being passed food and water underneath the blanket. Even for the week or so immediately following entombment the bereaved spouse should try to stay indoors and remain covered up with a *binaliwon* as he or she would still be a potential target for the as yet lingering *achogwa*. In relation to this Peter spoke of an omen pertaining to the surviving spouse – that if he or she sees a pair of butterflies fluttering in tandem shortly after the death of their partner it is an indication that he or she would soon follow their deceased partner in death.

5.5 The *binaliwon*'s potential to bring about death and danger

People's sense of foreboding of death and spirits of the dead has extended their ritual utility of the *binaliwon* laterally, to rituals not wholly dissociated from death, but obliquely linked to it in various ways, as exemplified in the following situation that occurred in the village in the early months of my fieldwork.

It began with alarmed voices and commotion early one morning, and involved my neighbours Fred, Martin, Juan, Perfecto and some others from nearby houses who were organizing to take down the electricity cables running between our cluster of houses and a cluster nearby. Electricity hadn't flowed through those wires or any others in the community for almost a year by then, ever since the Japanese funded micro-hydro generator had seized up. Contingency funds to have it repaired were depleted and hence transformer, poles, wires and people's household appliances and electric work-tools all sat idle. There was cause for

in the late 19th century claimed that spirits of deceased persons do not go off to their destinations immediately but remain in places nearby for a while in order to "see if they can take the souls of those close to them along so that [in the afterlife] a husband will live in company with his wife or a wife with her husband, and children with their parents or vice versa," (1974: 327-28).

⁸⁷ As Dozier notes, this practice is also consistent with funerals in Poswoy, northern Kalinga (1966: 113).

concern since over the previous few weeks someone under the cover of darkness had been helping themselves to the unused power cables, likely stripping them down to the copper core and whisking that away to market. It seemed that every few weeks we would all be woken at dawn by residents dismayed at discovering yet more wire had been stolen during the night, sometimes with telltale lines left in the mud of rice fields where thieves had dragged the cables after they had been cut loose and had fallen. Concerned with the worsening situation, my neighbours were trying to protect what little remained of the electricity wires, taking them down for safe keeping. Shortly after, in an effort to deal with the problem, senior men of the community held a ritual called *sapata*.

The *sapata* ritual is an oath-swearing ceremony at a gathering primarily of men to publicly clear their names from involvement in a particular offence, in this instance theft. People commit to this oath with the strong belief that dire consequences will befall them if they are not completely truthful. In one version of the *sapata* people who have assembled to clear their name would hold a shiny one peso coin up to the morning sun and, with all watching, swear that they were without guilt, that if they are lying may their eyes turn white with blindness. Since for most residents pledges such as these are dreaded things, only those who know they are without fault would consent to it. Another version of the *sapata* involves each person present coming forward to wrap their arms around a five gallon ceramic wine jar and swearing their innocence with the belief that their stomach would distend to the size of the jar should they not be telling the truth. Or worse, that their family would die. Adding a foreboding subtext to the ritual, a cutting from a red broad-leafed plant (*changra*, a shrub believed to grow on ground where people's blood has spilt) is placed next to the jar, together with a folded *binaliwon* blanket. Because of its intimate association with death and dangerous *achogwa*, and the sense of apprehension it inspires, the use of the *binaliwon* seems ideally suited to this context.

People would take note of which men in the village had not attended the gathering, and later some of the senior members of the group would carry all the ritual accoutrements over to as many of those households as possible, allowing individuals who may have been out in their fields or in town at the time to clear their names. In swearing their own innocence at a *sapata* ritual, and by adding a punitive component to the oath, people arguably call on local spirits or Apo Dios to effect this graphic retribution, not onto themselves, because they know they are innocent, but implicitly onto the guilty individual who would unlikely be present at the gathering. In this way the *sapata* becomes an avenue for a kind of spirit-world reckoning, which builds on people's general disapproval of unwelcome social conduct. Moreover, in implying a desire for the offender to be struck down with terrible illness or death, the *sapata*

concomitantly aligns with the local understanding that a person's spiritually complicated illness is typically attributed to the moral failings of the afflicted person themselves, and brought about by a transcendent Other. The *sapata* is, in a tangential way, a human intervention to encourage the intervention of a divine arbitrator.

There are two further non-funerary uses of the *binaliwon* which I learned of one evening while Peter and I were sitting on low stools in conversation with Peter's elderly father-in-law. Whonas wedged tobacco leaf into his pipe with gnarled hands, smiled boyishly and indicated he was happy to address my questions on the *binaliwon*. In addition to talk of the initial introduction of the textile to the village, he spoke of the days of "tribal war" when men would bring the dead home in *binaliwon* blanket-stretchers they made by slinging a *binaliwon* onto both ends of a bamboo pole, and shouldered by a group of men who took turns carrying it.⁸⁸ They also spoke of a ritual called *marasad* (or *aser*) which is undertaken when someone in the village has been slain by an enemy during inter-village conflict. The ritual involves a fearsome type of chanting and cursing and had been performed they said by an old woman holding a spear and shield, and while wearing a *binaliwon* blanket around her shoulders. The intention of the ritual, I was told, is to incite the *achogwa* of the victim to avenge itself by taking a life among the enemy.⁸⁹ Peter added by relating an incident that had happened recently in the provincial capital Tabuk where a Tarlao man was severely assaulted by men from another Kalinga group. The outlying areas around the Kalinga capital comprise a number of migrant settlements of upland peoples, not all of which have peaceful relations with each other. The elderly mother of this particular man was a spirit-world practitioner (*mani'ila*) who, incensed by the attack on her son, called on the spirit-world in a ritual cursing of her son's assailants, wrapping herself with a *binaliwon* blanket as she did so.

While not a contemporary practice – yet one which Peter conceded could still be enacted if those in concern wanted to do so – people used to employ a *binaliwon* as a visual means of announcing the death of a *bodong* or peace-pact holder. A *bodong* holder is most often a local man skilled in brokering strained relations between opposing villages, and who holds the responsibility of maintaining peaceful ties between them over the years.⁹⁰ The eldest son of the deceased community leader would wear a *binaliwon* like a sash across one shoulder and hasten to announce the death of his father to his father's counterpart *bodong* holder in the corresponding village. The next day a formal contingent from the partner village would

⁸⁸ Locals are invariably reluctant to mention specific instances of inter-village conflict where many lives were lost. To do so not only recalls traumatic periods in people's lives but also memories of the fallen whose spirits might still be drawn the sound of their own names.

⁸⁹ See also Barton, 1930, plate XXVII (a) & (b), and 1963 introductory plates (unnumbered), for early references to rituals which incite the spirit of the deceased to avenge its death.

⁹⁰ More on *bodongs* are mentioned in Ch III, sect 3.3.

accompany the bereaved son back to his *barangay* for the elaborate funeral. Here death, blanket and spirit coincide with the pressing politics of assigning a replacement community leader.

5.6 Debt and the circulation of *binaliwon* blankets among relatives

The most obvious way a bereaved family can show care and deference to their loved one is by enshrouding them with a *binaliwon*. This is an indispensable *ugali* or local tradition. Related to this tradition is another, the giving of *binaliwon* blankets by close relatives who come to the funeral. One of the unintended consequences of such donations is that many families may end up bringing blankets for their deceased relative and a surfeit of blankets could and often does accumulate at funerals, ultimately stimulating a particular form of blanket exchange and circulation among related families.

Any number of families related to the deceased could bring a *binaliwon* with them to the funeral, and as all blankets are brought with the intention of being used in the coffin, any blankets brought into the funeral space become in a way a part of the deceased's inheritable possessions. Generally speaking, with respect to the donation of *binaliwon* blankets, it is the age of the deceased that gives an indication as to which of the deceased's relatives share the responsibility of giving a blanket. For instance, *binaliwon* blankets are typically donated by married siblings or the families of married siblings of the deceased. Alternatively, if the deceased had died relatively young, a child who had no married siblings, for example, the responsibility to give a blanket would fall to the families of married siblings of the parents of the deceased. Ordinarily, unmarried siblings are not expected to contribute to events like funerals and weddings given that they would not normally have the economic means to do so. In other words, if the deceased had siblings who had their own adult children, the onus would be on these nieces or nephews of the elderly deceased to find the means to donate a blanket. Conversely, if the deceased was a child his or her uncles or aunts would be expected to provide a blanket for the occasion. Ultimately there is a certain moral imperative in giving a *binaliwon* in that most people take it to be the right thing to do. As Peter noted, if a relative dies and you have a *binaliwon*, go and give it, as they would do the same for you.

As mentioned above, only one *binaliwon* need fulfill the role of coffin blanket, and any excess blankets remaining after the funeral are divided among the bereaved family. Typically one would be given to the surviving spouse, and the remainder divided among the married children of the deceased, who would in turn donate a *binaliwon* when one of their parents' siblings dies. Reciprocation need not necessarily take the form of a returned *binaliwon* though, as relatives could also make a contribution (*achang*) to the purchase of the *carabao*

or a pig, or provide planks for the coffin, or even help chop and shoulder extra firewood from nearby hills for cooking the food to feed guests at the funeral. Yet typically relatives do give funeral blankets, and blankets eventually circulate along the consanguineous and affinal lines that tie families together.

Binaliwon blankets can also travel outside traditional trajectories in atypical ways. As a *binaliwon* retains a pecuniary value in addition to its spirit-world potency and ritual application, it would not be unusual for someone in financial difficulty to sell a *binaliwon* received in donation, as Peter told me he had done with a blanket he had acquired at his first wife's funeral. In another example, my neighbour Gasper, knowing I had research interests in funeral textiles and traditions kindly offered me a surplus *binaliwon* that he and his wife had acquired at their father's funeral that year, and I most gratefully accepted. Some months later I was approached by an anxious Tarlao woman from the far side of the village whose own father had just passed away. Somehow word had gotten around that I had a *binaliwon* in my possession, and this woman asked to 'borrow' it as her family didn't have one and needed one that morning. I was promised I would receive a replacement when out of town relatives started to arrive the following day, and I agreed. Hence a specific blanket could equally circulate in reciprocal exchange among a related group, as be passed on to and circulate among other Kalinga family networks, and (if not passed on to foreigner and taken out of the region completely) would ultimately make a terminal transition into a tomb, and from there into the spirit-world. As noted above with the thigh-slapping competition, the games played at celebratory funerals, being open to anyone from the village, are another potential way that the circulatory trajectory of a donated textile might pass from one group of related families to another.

As mentioned, blanket-giving traditions between relatives take place within a broader context of general donations and aid (*achang*) which non-relatives give at funerals, and which also shares a similarity with donations guests make to the bride and groom at weddings. Accordingly, all visitors who attend a funeral are expected to make a modest monetary contribution, and some might even give a bottle of gin, a small bag of hulled rice, or shelled peas or beans or the like. When a sizeable crowd has gathered and settled around the house and yard, members of the host family would make the rounds collecting *achang*, the contributions. Donors' names and what they donated would be recorded in a notebook which is later kept in a central place so that people who arrive later could also have their contributions registered. Reciprocal payments and attendance at other families' funerals are shaped by attendance and contributions to one's own family funeral, and as a slight by one household will be remembered and could easily grow into tension between households, all

need to pay attention to these expectations. The type of *achang* that close relatives give each other, mortuary blankets included, tends to be looked at as something one would willingly do for relatives who are emotionally pained at the passing of a loved one.

Record-keeping also puts into writing relationships which residents have with each other, as much as what the receiving family is obliged to repay at future funerals. I was visiting one afternoon with my neighbour Juan who was home babysitting that day when eventually his ever-grubby and boisterous three year old lost interest in me and scampered off to play with the neighbour's kids. I took the opportunity to raise research questions with him on the topic of funeral traditions, but careful to skirt around any mention of the tragic death of his ten year old daughter, whose funeral I had attended several years earlier. Unexpectedly, Juan stood up and from the top of his wardrobe brought down his daughter's memorial booklet. He sat with me and turned the pages thoughtfully. So many people including out of town relatives had come to be with his family at that distressful time. Smiling, he pointed out my name on the page. The record book marked a bond between us, as it did between his family and every other family named among its pages. People tend to look positively on the social bonds engendered through help given at times of tragedy, more so than the debt it creates between households. Debt held in this way tends to manifest as a form of alliance, essential for families living in remote mountain *barangays*, and vital in a region of carefully balanced peace-pacts between villages. That webs of unpaid debt (*utang*) strengthen relationships in the community at any given time is just as true for monetary donations among unrelated people as it is for gift blankets among related families.

The gift-giving analysis can be further nuanced with Mauss's (1954) argument that people give gifts with the idea that in due course they will receive some form of benefit, that there is an implicit strategy at work involving donations and counter-donations. In his exploration of the social relationships created and sustained in gift-giving societies, Mauss argues that the spirit of gift giving, initially understood by scholars as voluntary, spontaneous and disinterested, is on the contrary obligatory, deliberate and interested (1954: 70-73). Pierre Bourdieu (1977) also observes that the objective reality of gift exchange (no less so between kin than strangers) is concealed if lifted from a context that is inherently concatenated to a past and a future; in this way prestations might erroneously be interpreted as inaugural acts of generosity stripped of reference to strategic calculation. Bourdieu argues that rational contracts become visible in that they consist of transactions telescoped to an instant, whereas gift exchange can readily disguise such contracts through the elongated time frames that are possible with reciprocity (1977: 171-73). For both Mauss and Bourdieu exchange, the overt economy of which can be socially suppressed or hidden, is taken to be a purposeful act

with the interest of the giver ever present, if not always obvious. However, to render *binaliwon* donation in this way, as solely or primarily an interested transaction, devalues much of the moral impetus behind mortuary blanket circulation.

Another perspective, drawn from a lowland Philippine context, is Cannell's (1999) exploration of the local concept of 'debt' as it configures relationships of reciprocity and unequal power. Cannell notes that in Bicol, coastal southern Luzon, locals readily distinguish between what constitutes accrued debt as opposed to merely aid which people offer and receive with no real intention of reciprocating. The former would normally involve non-relatives while the latter generally pertains to relatives. According to Cannell, locals accept that money loaned to kin is likely to be subsumed under the category of family sharing and support, and not typically considered a loan for which one is accountable. Cannell goes on to argue that in matters relating to spirits, saints and those who interact with them, the distinction between debt (*utang*) and help (*tabang*) is rather more ambiguous (1999: 194). Her analysis of Bicolanos' everyday secular understanding of these notions also resonates with that of upland Kalinga in that both depart from an emphasis, or at least a sole emphasis, on exchange as obligatory and interested transaction, allowing in addition for the emotional and moral support that people express through gift-giving. So, where the tendency in the lowlands may be for relatives to merely thank and then forget as a gift is given, in Tarlao Kalinga the practice of recording donations ensures that at least in principle the gift or support offered will be reciprocated.

In his study of *utang na loób* (debt of gratitude; also *utang a naimbag a nakem* in Ilocano) as a local idiom important to Tagalog society under early Spanish rule, Rafael (1988) argues that a sense of shame (*hiya*) has, since the early seventeenth century to the present day, been defined as the dominant affect that accompanies indebtedness and arises from the failure to return what one has received (1988: 126-27). Rafael argues that a sense of shame in exchange relations is both the condition of possibility for indebtedness as well as the result of the rupture in reciprocity that leaves debt unpaid (1988: 127). In Tarlao while unpaid debt tends to be accepted, acknowledged and remembered, donations/help (*achang*) appear to proceed in the absence of *hiya*. Moreover, debt accrued at Kalinga funerals, from kin and non-kin donations alike, would eventually be settled in the form of *achang*, or aid, at future funerals. This *qchang*, in addition, even as it is given in repayment, tends to create (as if it were inaugural) new debt in the reverse direction. By donating a *binaliwon* at a funeral to cancel an obligation relatives had created previously, the onus to reciprocate is once again put on the receiving family. This new debt, as it would remain unresolved for presumably a prolonged period of time between deaths among relatives, in the interim reinscribes

alliances and sustains relationships in the process. Gibson says something similar of moral ties among Christians from highland Buid, Mindoro, south of Luzon, that these are conceived of in terms of *utang na loób* relations (1986: 45). Adding to Cannell's observation that debt in these regions is socialized (1999: 194), I suggest here that debt also socializes, that it creates and maintains particular sorts of social relations. Ultimately, a *binaliwon* given is over time returned to the family who originally gave it, insofar as the gesture of emotional support between related families, expressed through a given blanket, is eventually reciprocated.

As a preface to exploring alternatives in mortuary blankets and coffins in consideration of Kalinga traditions, including religious traditions, that endure amidst change, and vice versa, I will first provide a framework through which to consider continuity and change in Kalinga relative to exogenous influences, both historical and contemporary, which Church, State and Filipino urban society have had, and continue to have, on the activities and attitudes of highland communities.

5.7 Modernizing influences on Kalinga traditions

Perhaps the first obstacle, or at least one of considerable importance, that early missionaries and colonial administrations encountered in their endeavours to Christianize and pacify the mountain peoples of the Cordillera was the widespread practice of head-hunting (*whuma'ag*). This is something, Scott (1969) notes, that government authorities and Catholic missionaries had been trying with various degrees of success to eradicate among southern highland Kalinga groups since the early 20th century (1969: 65), to say nothing of Spanish efforts since the 16th century (Scott, 1975: 48-51). While Scott notes that the practice had been waning since the 1930s, even as late as the 1960s in northern Kalinga it had not been completely eradicated (De Raedt, 1996: 167). Neither had it completely disappeared by the early 1980s in Tarlao Kalinga, as per my earlier discussion of inter-village conflict and competing moralities (Ch II, sect 2.3).

Other once prominent Kalinga cultural practices not supported by the Catholic and Anglican Churches include the use of the *sarachil*, the mortuary chair in which for the duration of a funeral the deceased would be strikingly displayed seated upright in customary regalia (black and red striped cotton garments, beads, spears, machetes, etc.).⁹¹ This practice has now been replaced by Western-styled, locally made plank coffins where the deceased is laid to rest outfitted in a new shirt and pants, or a new dress, and sometimes clad all in white. While the

⁹¹ Kalinga people these days tend only to wear traditional woven cotton clothing for street parades and other cultural performances, and even so this is done more so by children than adults. Western-style t-shirts, shorts, pants, shoes or rubber flip-flops are common fare in villages and townships.

preferred use of a Western-style coffin conformed to lowland urban funerary practices the colour of the deceased's clothing tied into a Christian notion linking white to a state of purity or sinlessness of a person's soul, as Fr. Andrew put it. Having presumed that due to various outside pressures over the generations the use of the *sarachil*, like the practice of head-taking, had long since vanished, I was surprised to hear of one elderly Tarlao man who had relatively recently been placed in a mortuary chair at his funeral. Peter informed me later that yes, even now if people want to they can take up this old *ugali* at funerals. But in reality few do.

The once-favoured *ugali* of *tankil* (boys' initiation into warriorhood) is now also discouraged, if not directly by the Church, by people who these days regard it as backward, a drain on household resources, and 'un-Christian'. The issue was raised at one of the funerals earlier that year. Sitting among a group of men under a tarpaulin strung up in front of the bereaved family's house, a clean-cut out-of-town school teacher and relative of the deceased had voiced his opinion that Tarlao people should abandon the practice of *tankil* for their sons. The group fell silent as he spoke up, a hint of disparagement in his tone. His argument was that the *tankil* was a useless and out-dated custom on which village families squandered their money on slaughtering *carabao* (water buffalo) or pig for the celebration. He was particularly critical of the fact that the celebration itself implicitly supported a violent way of life in that it encouraged young boys to grow up to be aggressors (*ming'or*), not only in 'tribal' conflict, but in general.

This man's concern was that while inter-village disputes might be sparked in the hill-country, when involved parties are incensed retaliatory acts can play out in any regional urban setting where aggressors know migrant communities of the opposing village have settled, or towns where their teenage children board and go to school. As such village revenge attacks can spill out on to town streets, market squares or schoolyards, something which naturally unsettles a lot of town folk. Punctuating his point, this fellow said people should instead replace *tankil* with baptism, implying that this was all the initiating that boys need. Here Christian rites and economic concerns were cited as sensible alternatives and rational reasons respectively for people to seek peaceable solutions to local traditions of cyclical violence.

Perfecto agreed. Although he himself underwent the initiation, he says that it is unnecessary and he would not conduct *tankil* for his sons. He himself was about ten years old when his parents organized a *tankil* for him, making a *palanus* (celebration, party) with a *carabao* for him and inviting a large crowd of relatives and neighbours. He remembers his *tankil* was in

April or May, before the harvest, during those weeks when farming families have more time on their hands. Part of the celebration involved male relatives singing the *uma'a*, a type of song sung after success in warfare. In typical comic fashion Perfecto sang me a few bars. He said the initiate would be given a brass bracelet or an agate bead on a string, both valuable items, and might also get to wear rooster feathers in a headband like Kalinga warriors of old. Perfecto said that although it is a costly *ugali*, families at the time were willing and proud to go to the expense, and in fact people would criticize those families who did not do this for their sons. But now people's attitude is different, and *tankil*, like the use of the *sarachil* and the severing of enemy heads, is, according to informants, a decidedly waning if not quite obsolete *ugali*.⁹² Consistent with the point made above about economic concerns, Perfecto was adamant that a family should use what little money they can earn on more important things, such as children's high school tuition and board. This was something which Perfecto and Lourdes, and likely many other Tarlao parents, thought about a lot. And if a family's economic prosperity is to be achieved through their children's higher education, official initiation into Christianity becomes for some a means to that end.⁹³

In altering methods of displaying corpses at wakes, in choosing to forego Kalinga initiation for Christian baptism, people demonstrate ways in which they have been influenced by external forces, but importantly mountain peoples also ally themselves with urban attitudes and ways of doing things. In wanting to shape aspects of their lives to those they hear about and experience outside of the community – in addition to the imported cultures that come across on regional radio and popular American and Filipino DVDs shown on old TVs in the village – locals themselves become complicit in modernizing processes, in subtly ushering in the decline of local cultural elements that most obviously conflict with urban sensibilities, such as the use of the *sarachil*. Tarlao locals were not oblivious to the negative implications of these gradual but inevitable changes happening around them. For some members of the community this was a concern. I had often wondered if something of this concern was not reflected in the fact that so many in the village were so keen to help out with my research, perhaps assuming that I was documenting for posterity.

In fact once Peter organized with a group of men and women to put on a rare dance performance for me to record. In a bid for authenticity he insisted performers dress in the traditional Kalinga way, in other words, sparsely clad, which eventually people did with much laughter and carrying on. The event took place down by the river, out of sight and

⁹² As far as I know there were no *tankil* performed in 2008, but there were at least two the previous year.

⁹³ The increasing participation in a cash economy in these *barangays* is a topic which deserves appropriate attention but is beyond the scope of the present study.

earshot of the rest of the community so the group wouldn't be too embarrassed. Perfecto was even self-consciousness at the thought of carrying his late father's antiquated war shield through the village on the way down to the performance site. It was used in a demonstration fight that afternoon, but firmly belonged to an out-dated style of combat from which Kalinga men these days have clearly distanced themselves. I remember he sheepishly took a circuitous route from the river-side venue back to his house to avoid being seen and probably ridiculed by others in the community.

Similarly, on another occasion, making use of the fact that I had a camera, two older men, and later others, including Agnes, had asked if I would take formal photographs of them wearing their finest traditional Kalinga attire. From the seclusion of one of the men's backyards, these two fellows stood bare-chested, displaying head-taking tattoos and wearing *wa'er* (the striped cotton men's lower body garment) while brandishing old spears and shields, but chuckling and horsing around all the while. It was safe to say that they wouldn't have risked being caught in public dressed like that. Moreover, I was aware, and likely they were too, that their attire and the poses they struck were reminiscent of the iconic black & white images captured in the late 1940s-50s by celebrated photographer Eduardo Masferré, glorifying and making timeless ordinary Kalinga men, women and children at work and play. Locals took a great interest in such pictures in old books, with good reason. A neighbour of mine was keen to tell me that the sepia photograph of the tattooed man identified simply as "*Lakay*" (elder) displayed in the Kalinga artefacts section of the Bontoc museum was in fact her late grandfather. Here I found myself complicit in a similar process of exoticism, helping to construct anachronistic images of these two fellows armed with the accoutrements of Kalinga warfare from a time before guns, artificially placing them in a history that more properly belonged to their forefathers. Yet there was evidently a fascination for this period, this look – but paradoxically one which they were embarrassed to be associated with in public – which was reflected in their delight when weeks later I returned from Manila with the enlargements they had requested.

Adding to the complexity behind people's self-consciousness at aspects of their culture is the fact that it belies the grounding sense of indigenous pride expressed at events like the February 14 Kalinga Day celebrations and street parades in Tabuk; and the sense that I got that many Tarlao people identify as Kalinga first and Filipino second; and the fierceness in which villages defend their territory and respond to attacks. At times locals defy the exotic label outsiders give them, at times they succumb to it, but all the while they help to create it. Moreover, this sense of exoticism pertains not only to people's traditional practices but to their spirit-world convictions as well. There is evidently a regional if not national readership

for what might be considered sensationalist stories in the popular press about local highland cultural practices and beliefs.

A good example is a recent newspaper article on upland funeral textiles which features the Kalinga *binaliwon* blanket and dwells on attendant indigenous supernatural beliefs. Its selection of quotations (citing Shedden, 2009), however, tended to inordinately weight locals' assertions regarding the spirit-world potency attributed to these blankets so as to make them appear 'exotic', perhaps irrational.⁹⁴ Elsewhere, in the central Visayan Islands, depictions of supernatural entities in the mass media continue to fuel the popular imagination. As Mitchel and Mitchel report, "In recent years, *aswang* [malevolent spirits] have become a popular commodity in the Philippines, depicted in numerous films and television series and in a festival held annually for a few years on the nearby island of Panay," (2011: 118). In a similar vein, a BBC News Magazine article (Feb 2012) concerning "healing rituals and bad spirits" on the Visayan island of Siquijor takes a jaunty, mildly mocking approach to the topic of witchcraft, drawing on a popular discourse which juxtaposes anachronistic indigenous religious beliefs against secularism and modernity.⁹⁵

While there is obviously a mainstream market for the consumption of stories and images of these and other non-Christian spirits, as well as other spirit-world convictions of Filipino indigenous folk, there also seems to be an undercurrent of derisive comments, a derogatory discourse pertaining to hill-country peoples from the more remote, developing areas of the Cordillera. This was evidently an attitude locals were aware of, as it was brought to my attention on my first visit to the Kalinga capital of Tabuk in early 2005, prior to me knowing anything about the negative image Kalinga upland people had in lowland metropolitan centres. While meeting with a group of Kalinga parents originally from upland *barangays*, and whose kids attended boarding school in Tabuk, I was told to pay no heed to reports I may have already heard elsewhere labelling Kalinga people as backward and belligerent, and other racial slurs not worth repeating. It was, however, a discourse on which I picked up on later visits to Manila, and hints of it appeared in the way Tarlao individuals joked about themselves and their village life in relation to well-to-do city folk.⁹⁶ It is in this general context that I suggest that the *sarachil*'s current disfavoured status in Kalinga has likely been

⁹⁴ The article, "Kalinga death wrap stands the test of time" by Vincent Cabreza, Baguio City, appeared in *Inquirer Northern Luzon*, page A15, October 26, 2011.

⁹⁵ The on-line article, "Healing rituals and bad spirits on a Philippine island" by Kate McGeown, BBC News, Philippines, was accessed on Feb 6th 2012 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16871785>.

⁹⁶ Interestingly, sentiments like this contrast with the image portrayed in mythology of Tarlao people being the first among all peoples, and favoured by Kabunyan.

influenced by both a dominant religious perspective as well as a regional discourse contributing to what is arguably an urban/rural cultural divide.⁹⁷

5.8 Change and continuity: alternative blankets and coffins

Along with co-occurring and competing cosmologies – most evident through disparate understandings (Christian and Kalinga) of the nature and treatment of the non-manifest element of the human body that separates upon death – change and continuity in the material accoutrements of demise, too, are to be found in the funeral arena. There are at least two other kinds of Kalinga striped cotton textiles which can on occasion substitute for a *binaliwon* at Tarlao funerals, but their use is infrequent and neither extends to use in other rituals. This is because, unlike the *binaliwon*, these substitute textiles are not considered immanently linked with the spirit-world. One of these textiles, the *sirapang*, is a blanket very similar in design to the *binaliwon* but its broad bands are primarily red and white in colour, not black (or dark) and white like a *binaliwon*. The other type of textile, common to the central Kalinga town of Lubuagan, is the *sirang bituwan*, and features white star motifs woven into alternating narrow bands of red and dark blue.

Corazon, the Tarlao elementary school principal, explained to me that the *sirapang* blanket was unusual for mortuary use, but was unlikely to be refused by a bereaved family if offered to them at a funeral. This was the case with Agnes who had inherited a *sirapang* blanket that was donated years previously at her husband's funeral. It had in fact become one of the domestic blankets she ordinarily used for bedding. That she was not concerned about sleeping with this type of blanket bespeaks an inertness of the *sirapang*, of its inability to effect spirit-world consequences. The similarity the *sirapang* has to the *binaliwon* comes from its design, the even width and spacing of the broad white bands alternating with the darker ones (but red instead of black) running the length of the blanket – the same readily identifiable design that distinguishes a *binaliwon* from other Kalinga textiles.

The *sirang bituwan* textile is somewhat more expensive than an ordinary *binaliwon* and, like the *sirapang*, far less commonly used in funerals or community rituals. Few Tarlao families would regard the *sirang bituwan* as a traditional mortuary blanket, yet if a family wanted to elevate the status of their ceremony this Lubuagan style textile would be an option. The funeral of a *bodong* holder might be such an occasion as it is a more involved

⁹⁷ No where was this cultural divide better exemplified for me than over the issue of eating dog meat. I casually brought up the topic with a smartly dressed young hotel clerk from the up-class Davidson Hotel, Tabuk. He was charged with walking the hotel owner's manicured poodle in the afternoons, and when I matter-of-factly spoke of the way people in the highland *barangays* cook dog on special occasions (and as an important source of meat in a mostly vegetarian diet) he was utterly repulsed at the thought.

affair than an ordinary family funeral and attracts delegates from the partner village and other important guests. But blanket substitution like this is not common. In fact Peter asserts that it is not so much the type of funeral textile which is indicative of status as the fineness and expense of the casket, the number of *carabaos* slaughtered, and, more importantly, the number of people who attend. Neither of these types of blankets is linked to spirits of the dead, and neither elicits the same sense of apprehension, nor appears in lieu of the *binaliwon* in other ritual settings.

Moreover, not everyone is interred in the same type of coffin. Tarlao families who have the means to do so might use an externally manufactured, satin-lined casket in lieu of a pinewood coffin carpentered locally at the wake. This was the case for the funeral of the elderly man who fell to his death one night leaning too far out of an open window; his relatives from Tabuk hired a lorry to bring an expensive factory-finished casket with them for his interment. The young Tarlao mother who succumbed to cancer in the Bontoc hospital earlier in the year was transported back to the village in a white funeral-home casket, while the most elaborate commercially produced casket I saw in the village that year contained the mayor's father. Moreover, people's use of *binaliwon* blankets is transfigured in the process. While mortuary blankets provide a degree of comfort for the deceased inside hand-hewn and unpolished plank coffins, functioning as both interior lining as well as shroud, finely-finished caskets are plush, padded and, one would think, in no need of further lining. Nevertheless, families who choose elaborate, imported caskets would consider Tarlao funeral rites incomplete if at least one *binaliwon*, even if only folded and placed inside at the foot of the casket, were not included.

That people include a blanket in the casket in this way suggests a cosmological understanding of the *binaliwon* as something that is intimately connected with *achogwa*, a cultural article which makes the transition along with an *achogwa*, into the spirit-world. An inclusion such as this is an act which reinscribes a cosmic logic relating to the nature of spirits of the dead while ensuring the flow, albeit modified, of traditional practices (*kaugalian*) that many people regard as indispensable for containing the dangers associated with what Victor Turner (1967) might regard as the liminal character of a funeral. Such blanket inclusions also suggest that a rupture or alteration of tradition in one funerary procedure or traditional practice will not necessarily prevent continuity of another, and this is just as apparent when notions of the local spirit-world are concerned.

Ultimately though, that a person upon dying is provided a coffin in which to rest and a blanket to take with them into the afterlife, that they are mourned for three days and nights,

that a *carabao* is sacrificed in their honour, that the whole village and out of town relatives attend, that long speeches are made in tribute to the deceased, and that people remember the deceased's accomplishments in life – these are some of the more important aspects of Kalinga funerals. And the *binaliwon*, one could say, lies at the heart of it all. As Efrin, a senior gentleman from a neighbouring *barangay*, in conversation with me at the funeral of a local *bodong* holder emphatically put it, “The *binaliwon* is a part of our culture that will never be erased.” The forthrightness with which he spoke on that day gave an indication of the perdurance of the funeral blanket as a Kalinga cultural mainstay, even as over the generations other aspects of the funeral process have been discarded or altered.

Bringing the *binaliwon* back to my earlier discussion differentiating the nature of *achogwa*/soul from local Kalinga and trans-local Christian perspectives, the abovementioned non-funerary uses of the *binaliwon* that aim to avoid, petition or assuage potentially dangerous spirits illustrate a significant point. Lateral shifts in the textile's ritual application (the *sapata* to assert innocence, the *marasad* to incite revenge) are testimony to the potency derived from its intimate association with spirits of the dead. That newly liberated human spirits are considered dangerous to the living, and that they eventually depart the village for an indeterminate ‘elsewhere’ understood to be neither a reward nor a punishment for an individual's moral accomplishments or failings in quotidian life, is a concept of the nature of the soul and the afterlife considerably removed from a Christian theology founded on an economy of salvation. There is, however, a parallel Kalinga principle concerning moral action and spirit-world intervention, but one that does not involve divine punishment in the hereafter; namely the prevalent local understanding linking an individual's acts of *pariyao* to spirit-world attributed sickness, hardship and suffering – but, as mentioned in previous chapters, in this life, not in any life to come. Yet paradoxically as incompatible as these two cosmological perspectives are, they nonetheless co-occur uncontested at any Kalinga funeral where Christian clergy and the deceased's relatives alternate between typical ways of addressing God and the *achogwa* respectively. That people accept or at least ignore this contradiction could on the one hand be accounted for by their embrace for the most part of new *ugali* (traditions), by their tendency to accommodate other than local ways of seeing, doing and interpreting. This acceptance is, as I have argued in previous chapters, not only sustained by unanimous claims across the community that both traditional Kalinga religion and trans-local Christianity are supported by the same apical divinity, but is ultimately underwritten by the cosmological principle which links misfortune to morality.

The acceptance of other than local or relatively newly introduced assertions and practices

has in other Kalinga social arenas become an important if understated way of justifying continued adherence to a category of indigenous traditions which might otherwise seem arbitrary or unsupported in the same way that traditional Kalinga religious understandings are through being linked to and supported in many ways by trans-local Christian understandings. In the following chapter I explore Tarlao avoidance practices which, while not strictly connected to Kalinga religious practices or founded in Kalinga mythology, do express a variation of the *pariyao/chusa* axiom insofar as the non-compliance of these avoidance practices are thought to bring about negative outcomes for the individuals concerned.

Chapter VI

Ngelin avoidance practices, analogous transfer, and Kalinga cosmology



Stations of the Cross performed outside the Catholic church during Holy Week

Tarlao residents, when encouraged to extrapolate on Kalinga *ugali*, or traditional understandings and ways of doing things, had often spoken to me of the sorts of avoidance practices they call *ngelin*. In Ilocano, the lingua franca of the Cordillera highlands, the term *ngelin* refers to 'holy day' or 'holiday', and while locals include this sense in the ways they talk about *ngelin*, in Kalinga the term encompasses much wider parameters. *Ngelin*, in general terms, are things people should not do at the risk of bringing about particular negative 'consequences'. In brief, many *ngelin* pertain to food, typically portions of chicken, dog and pig meat, but sometimes certain fruit or even rice that has been cooked under inauspicious conditions. Numerous *ngelin* concern women in the latter stages of pregnancy, mothers who have just given birth, and small children. The sorts of adverse circumstances associated with ignoring or disrespecting *ngelin* traditions are not thought to come about immediately, but many years later, as is the case for the sorts of undesirable characteristics (described below) which some children develop as they grow older, and which might be attributed to a lapse in a family's care with *ngelin* avoidances when these children were young.

The diversity of these widely-accepted *ngelin* might be approached in several ways. For example, one way to consider the sorts of *ngelin* proscriptions which revolve around pregnancy and childbirth is to take them as representational of broader social concerns. Radcliffe-Brown (1952) in his early work on ritual prohibitions provides a way of understanding contemporary Kalinga *ngelin* by emphasizing the social significance of avoidance practices. Many other forms of *ngelin* arguably relate to analogies whereby an object's perceived undesirable quality or characteristic is brought together with a 'vulnerable' subject, in a manner similarly proposed by Rosaldo (1975) and Tambiah (1985). Drawing on their work I suggest that such metaphoric processes implicitly and ultimately refer to the sorts of meta-concerns which situate Kalinga adherents to *ngelin* proscriptions in terms of some of the wider cultural concerns and social tensions to which Rosaldo refers with her Ilongot magical practitioners (1975: 200).

Much of what constitutes *ngelin*, for instance, tends to revolve around the theme of weakness of character or lack of physical strength or courage, characteristics which are thought to develop over the years and are said to have come about by the affected people not adhering to *ngelin*. Hence, in demarcating actions, attitudes and dispositions which locals perceive to be socially undesirable, *ngelin* proscriptions in a way also suggest the opposite. These practices, through negative contrast, implicitly place value on actions and characteristics which people consider socially and morally desirable, such as strength, endurance, fearlessness, and so forth. Likewise with *pariyao*, criticizing someone for conduct commonly deemed wrong, immoral or sinful implies that refraining from such activity is likely taken as morally and socially valued. I made a similar suggestion concerning the sort of disrespectful and discourteous behaviour referred to as *wain* (Ch II, sect 2.2). Hence, beyond any symbolic or representational nature of avoidance practices, and additional to analyses concerning the local adaptation or transfer of perceived qualities of any given avoided object, there are, I suggest, implied positive values inherent in *ngelin* stipulations which help orchestrate Kalinga social life.

Moreover, as Lambek notes, the observance of prohibitions, even if construed as negation or non-action, is nonetheless a form of 'doing' which people may choose to adhere to or to transgress (1992: 248). Violations of *ngelin* avoidance practices, as mentioned, are understood to effect particular negative 'consequences', and these are taken to come about, not through any involvement from a transcendent Other, but in a somewhat more indeterminate way: The non-intervention of God⁹⁸ or spirits with regards to such

⁹⁸ In chapter II, sect 6 I discuss the conflation, from a local purview, of assertions concerning the Kalinga deity Kabunyan and the Christian divinity Apo Dios. In Tarlao people's references to 'God',

'consequences', and the absence of *ngelin* concerns in Kalinga mythology, I suggest, distinguishes *ngelin* from Kalinga practices of a more religious nature – of the sort wherein misfortune is taken as spirit-world retribution (*chusa*) and subsequently requires ritual sacrifice (*karu*) as a form of reparation (illustrated in chapter III). Ritual activity, as Rappaport (1999) argues, sustains religious life and recurrently affirms people's postulates concerning an ultimate sanctifying force, for example God, which in turn certifies as veridical and legitimate many of the broad principles from which society's social and moral rules are derived (detailed in Ch I, sect 1.5). But people rarely if ever conduct rituals around *ngelin* transgressions as the undesirable outcomes associated with these are not taken to be *chusa*, not linked to spirit-world intervention.

A society's proscriptions or avoidance practices, as they fit in with Rappaport's thinking, form a part of its social rules (1999: 265-66). These sorts of imperatives Rappaport incorporates into his general theory of sanctification, and follow on from what he calls Ultimate Sacred Postulates (creeds or assertions about the existence and power of gods and spirits), and from what he terms 'cosmological axioms' (fundamental principles from which the rules governing social life are derived). Without the sanctification or certification derived from assertions concerning an apical divinity and sustained through ritual performance such principles and practices can seem random, ungrounded or subjective. In the Kalinga case, *ngelin* might come across as arbitrary practices unsupported by the sorts of cosmological assertions which ground Kalinga *ugali* and trans-local Christian liturgical orders. The adherence to *ngelin*, nevertheless, arbitrariness and all, continues unabated. Here I suggest that, despite being unaccounted for by a general theory of sanctification, agentive forces and an ethicized cosmos, *ngelin* proscriptions nonetheless constitute an integral part of local cosmology, situated alongside but distinct from Kalinga ritual and religious practice. The following are a selection of *ngelin* examples which Tarlao residents had shared with me.

6.1 *Ngelin* avoidance practices and their deemed consequences

One evening Mario, a Tarlao local and skilled carpenter in his 50s, talked to me about the sorts of things and actions people should avoid, things which if ignored are thought to bring about unwelcome states of affairs. He gave me several illustrations. He said people consider it *ngelin* for a woman who has just given birth to eat the fresh-water snails that thrive in local flooded rice terraces. These molluscs are a popular addition to meals during the growing season. People gather them up in plastic bags, boil them in numbers in the shell and "kiss and eat", sucking out the meat inside. But it is *ngelin* for a woman who has just delivered to

depending on context, often equally allude to Kabunyan and Apo Dios, effectively rendering culturally and historically Kalinga ritual cycles compatible with relatively recently introduced Christian liturgical orders.

eat these snails, or other meat for that matter, for a month or two after the birth, as the understanding is that the baby would come down with fever and its tongue would turn white. People considered it *ngelin* for a pregnant woman to drink water from an old plastic bottle or jug or straight from the outdoor communal water pipes, or anything other than a drinking glass, as it is thought that the baby when born would cry and cry. When chicken is cooked and served with a meal the whole bird, after having the feathers singed and some of the entrails removed, is chopped into pieces and boiled. Of these portions people consider it *ngelin* for a pregnant woman to eat the tail-end piece. Chickens and particularly chicks, Mario explained after asking why I didn't already know this, constantly contract and release their rectums (*emut*), demonstrating the action for me by bringing his five fingers together and opening and closing them in small quick motions. Eating this piece of chicken is thought to lead a woman to a difficult birth, and it could also lead to the child growing up to be timid and easily frightened.

Additionally, when a meal includes chicken, boys should not be allowed to eat the fleshy pieces or any piece other than the wings, legs and feet, as this is considered *ngelin*. If boys ignore this *ngelin* their feet would hurt or it would be difficult for them to walk when going on steep and strenuous day-long treks to the forest to harvest rattan, or set snares for game, and so forth. Peter later added that when cooking chicken it is considered *ngelin* to give the head to young children as this is thought to stunt their capacity when older for being confident, clear-headed and vigorous in debates or arguments with people. A lack of courage and proficiency in verbal dispute is regarded as undesirable, and when these characteristics are noticed in children, especially boys, it is often held to be the result of a breach of this *ngelin*. Frowning, Peter also said that children should not be allowed to eat certain parts of a pig, in particular the ears, because if they do they will become obstinate and won't listen to or obey their parents. Peter himself is a stern disciplinarian and I have noticed that his own two young lads, loud and boisterous on the playground, tend to be quiet and unanimated whenever I visit. But this is not to say that adults of the community could not eat such things at get-togethers, celebrations and sacrifices. *Ngelin*, and the positive social values and individual characteristics to which they ultimately refer, are directed toward particular subsets of society, in this case children who are in later years expected to endure the strain of hill-trekking, display spirited oratory skills, and hold their elders in respect, heeding their advice and wisdom.

At celebrations where a pig is butchered, the head, which is typically divided into upper and lower jaw portions and these divided again, is traditionally offered to special guests or respected elders. On at least two such occasions I was honoured by having one of these upper

portions, complete with all the intrinsic features of the face, put on my plate of rice. As I understand it, it is not *ngelin* for others to take these favoured portions, but the host family would tend to reserve them for special guests. People in general, however, should avoid eating the knee joints because this is thought to reduce people's ability to run fast. Similarly at get-togethers where a dog is butchered as part of the meal young men and women should avoid eating the intestines, which are commonly cooked in the blood and make a rich side-dish, or as finger-food (*polutan*) to accompany men's gin-drinking sessions. If this *ngelin* were ignored, young men and women's own intestines might tighten when running or doing other physical activity and bring about not only shortness of breath and lessening of endurance, but also cowardly behaviour.

There are also several natural features including waterways, boulders and cliff-faces in and near the village which many locals are apprehensive of and will try to avoid. Some locals associate these types of places, called *papangeawon*, with malignant spirits, and they are considered *ngelin* places for expectant mothers. One of these *papangeawon* places is the small spring that runs through that part of the village called Chalug. Peter took me there one quiet weekday morning so I could see for myself. A modest flow of water made its way down the high stone wall of a rice terrace and out along a small channel at the end of somebody's yard, draining into a slightly larger channel further along. A group of elders I had talked with earlier had said that pregnant women should avoid collecting water or bathing at this place in the early mornings or evenings because they might die during childbirth, or else the baby might be born with swollen legs. Additionally, people say that if the father of a newborn baby passes by the *papangeawon* area close to the township and main road within ten days after the birth it would bring about colic or a similar condition in the baby. Mario had told me the remedy for this is to soothe the infant with whatever clear water can be collected from the morning dew off leaves.

Corazon, the elementary school principal, is a regular attendant at the Catholic Sunday service as well as Agnes's mass, and a leading figure in the community. She offered me a different example of *ngelin*. Pregnant women should not eat the rice from the pot which has been taken off the *charpong* or cooking stones and left to one side to cool and dry, when there are two such cooking fires and two pots of rice. Likewise, on occasions when chicken is served and there were two chickens butchered for the meal, it is *ngelin* for pregnant women to eat the meat. Although Corazon had not at the time been more specific about the number of rice pots, cooking fires or butchered chickens, people generally have a negative connotation of the number two as it pertains, for instance, to the quantity of chickens sacrificed in an expiation ritual (*mampisat nan maru*), or to the number of days over which

a funeral wake is held.⁹⁹ The expectant mother who ignores this *ngelin*, who takes rice from the first pot lifted off the *charpong* or eats chicken when two chickens are cooked, can expect her child to fall sick and possibly die. As to why this should happen Corazon was only able to tell me that these sorts of things just seem to occur, that they are all part of Kalinga *ugali* and conform to people's experiences and observations over time. Reflecting a common sentiment, she was adamant that Apo Dios or other spirits were not responsible for *ngelin* outcomes.

However, not everyone in Tarlao treats all *ngelin* interdictions cautiously, a pertinent example being the *ngelin* concerning chicken liver. I learnt that it should be avoided by everyone except elderly folk, for whom it should be reserved. In a way it is considered old folk's food, and it is thought young people would grow old too fast if they ate it. I got varied responses when I asked about this *ngelin*. Some would smile and dismiss it, finding it humorous that such a tasty portion should be prohibited to everyone except the elderly. Peter's response, when at a later stage I brought the topic up and mentioned some of the unsympathetic comments other locals had made about this avoidance practice, was that *ngelin* such as these were numerous in the past and people abided by them and lived long lives. He was a little annoyed that others in the community showed such little respect for old *ugali* like this. There were many other times throughout the year when, disheartened yet resigned to the fact, he spoke of Kalinga youth who were no longer committed to the old *ugali*. This was true to the extent that a high school and college educated younger generation with experience of living away from home in large urban environments might over time come to reject certain traditional Kalinga cultural elements as incompatible with the modern, progressive lifestyles they wish to engender. But Peter also said the times were different in the old days. When in the past the village was embroiled in war, sometimes for years at a stretch, people's adherence to *ngelin* was strong. But not so now he thought.

In a similar vein, if it is a woman's first pregnancy, it is *ngelin* for her to pick and eat fruit because it is understood that the baby will be born with a "fruit wound", a mark on its head or body resembling the fruit that the mother had ill-advisedly picked. Peter told me of one young Tarlao woman and her baby to whom this had recently happened. The infant was born with a small red splotch on his forehead which I found out later the grandmother had tried to treat with an herbal remedy. Peter considered the small discolouration to be straightforward evidence that, contrary to conventional understanding, the young mother while pregnant had most probably picked and eaten the guavas or raspberries that grow wild here and there near the village. For the young woman in question, when I later broached the topic with her,

⁹⁹ As discussed in Ch III, sect 3.4 and Ch V, sect 5.3 respectively.

the discolouration was nothing more than a normal birthmark. A little offended, she scoffed at the old 'superstitions' to which others in the village still cling. Regardless, for Peter and others these sorts of occurrences and their common interpretations reiterate a particular logic about the nature of the world wherein certain undesirable consequences can be avoided by following traditional wisdom predicated on long experience.

Ngelin such as this might to some people come across as arbitrary, cosmologically unsupported historical practices, vulnerable to internal critique (from locals themselves) and external influences (popular discourse, media representations, or lowland, urban attitudes dismissive of indigenous, non-Christian practices¹⁰⁰). This might not be the case if *ngelin* interdictions, like the moral order of *pariyao*, were compatible on certain levels with Church doctrine concerning the nature and involvement of Apo Dios in the everyday interrelations of ordinary people – there is an understated connection between some *ngelin* practices and Holy Week, or *simana*, which I will return to below. But *ngelin* for the most part are not sanctified through sacred postulates, Kalinga or Christian, and hence remain at odds with the sense of modernity and global connection a nationally orchestrated religion fosters. *Ngelin* are, nonetheless, a widely-adhered to, independent set of avoidance practices which, within an overarching Kalinga cosmology, co-occur with assertions and practices of a religious nature.

6.2 Social significance of avoidance practices

As already noted, many of the above examples – the eating of fresh-water snails, the drinking of water from plastic jugs, the taking of rice from a second rice pot, and the collecting of water or bathing at spiritually potent water sources – relate to a pronounced period of risk for new mothers and newborns. This is especially true considering that home-births are common and that any number of factors can complicate a delivery at a critical time in these upland rural areas badly wanting of clinics and medical services.¹⁰¹ This is not by way of limiting such *ngelin* to practical need, but merely to underscore that these are times of great concern for a family. One way to approach some of these avoidance practices is to consider them, as scholars have done in the past, as representational of broader social concerns. Radcliffe-Brown (1952) asserts that ritual avoidance or a “ritual prohibition is a rule of behaviour which is associated with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change in the ritual status of the person who fails to keep to the rule. This change of ritual status is conceived in many different ways in different societies, but everywhere there is the

¹⁰⁰ In Ch V, sect 5.7 I discuss the prevalent if implicit local discourse on the rural/urban cultural divide.

¹⁰¹ Tarlao does have a community mid-wife employed by the local municipality to assist with home-births, and some women do go to the Bontoc Hospital to give birth.

idea that it involves the likelihood of some minor or major misfortune which will befall the person concerned," (1952: 135).

Elaborating on his concept of 'ritual status' Radcliffe-Brown notes that for some people in England spilling salt is a taboo which "produces an undesirable change in the ritual status of the person who does so, and that he is restored to his normal or previous ritual status by the positive rite of throwing salt over his shoulder," (1952: 135). Similarly, he notes that in the Roman Catholic tradition if a person fails to abstain from eating meat on Fridays and during the Lenten period he or she is considered to have sinned (resulting, according to this logic, in an undesirable change in 'ritual status') and is subsequently required to confess to a priest and receive absolution (the reinstatement of a desirable 'ritual status'). The Sacrament of confession and the absolution it is deemed to achieve are reminiscent of Kalinga reparatory rituals and the state of pardon that they are understood to bring about, and as such are consistent with the sorts of Rappaportian performatives and Austinian illocutionary acts discussed in Chapter III.

Of his theory of taboo, Radcliffe-Brown states that it must "be considered in its place in a general theory of symbols and their social efficacy. By this theory the Andamanese taboos relating to childbirth¹⁰² are the obligatory recognition in a standardised form of the significance and importance of the event to the parents and to the community at large," (1952: 150). For Radcliffe-Brown these short-term food and personal name avoidance practices are held to be important partly because a transgression of these prohibitions is thought by some locals to bring about negative consequences for the parents and baby. These taboos are also socially significant because they are symbolic of a widely accepted recognition of the importance of childbirth. In a move which emphasizes the social significance of taboo, Radcliffe-Brown further proposes that his approach to understanding avoidance practices can be generalized to apply to all ritual and, therefore, he claims, to religion and magic as well. Echoing Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown states that "The primary basis of ritual [...] is the attribution of ritual value to objects and occasions which are either themselves objects of important common interests linking together the persons of a community or are symbolically representative of such objects," (1952: 151).

While Rappaport provides a more encompassing approach to understanding sanctity and sanctifying processes (Ch I, sect 1.5), Radcliffe-Brown's early suggestions concerning the expression through avoidance practices of the importance of particular life-cycle events

¹⁰² Here Radcliffe-Brown describes temporary pre- and post-partum prohibitions against the parents eating certain foods, and of other people using the personal names of the parents.

resonate with many Kalinga *ngelin* concerning childbirth. Other theorists, however, have looked more closely at the sorts of repercussions that interdiction violations are deemed to bring about, and the sorts of relationships that might exist between the object of a given interdiction, or some of its perceived characteristics, and the subject to whom it or they are culturally bound.

6.3 Analogous transfer of particular qualities or characteristics

In adhering to *ngelin* proscriptions or 'negative commands' Tarlao locals, I suggest, ultimately iterate positive images of Kalinga emotional, physical and social values. Michelle Rosaldo (1975), in analyzing Ilongot magical spells makes a related claim about the cultural and social concerns of Ilongot hunters (a northern Luzon group from the upper Cagayan valley, southeast of Kalinga). Magical spells could be said to differ considerably from *ngelin*, particularly in that Ilongot practitioners purposively engage in the former whereas 'vulnerable' Kalinga groups for the most part purposively avoid the latter. Nonetheless, Rosaldo's analysis of what she takes to be the analogic workings of spells and how they locate individuals relative to cultural concerns and social tensions (1975: 200) is, as I will try to show here, particularly valuable in understanding at least some Kalinga conceptions of avoidance.

Rosaldo investigates the types of magical spells which hunters use with their hunt dogs, focusing on three themes or orientations – namely that dogs must be violent in attacking prey; that they must be cooperative, almost social; and conversely that they must not be individualistic, disperse across the forest, or lose track or the point of the hunt (1975: 198). Following Levi-Strauss, Rosaldo argues that "the effectiveness of spells depends on the fact that they invoke images from a number of diverse areas of experience and that these images, in turn, are regrouped and organized in terms of a small set of culturally significant and contextually desirable themes," (1975: 178). She further argues that "Each magical expression, taken by itself, can be seen to highlight some attribute of the experienced world, which serves as a model for the spell's desired outcome; each suggests a variety of associations that relate the practitioner, his objective milieu, and his immediate goals," (*ibid.*). Here Rosaldo argues that Ilongot spells or *nawnaw*, for them to achieve what they set out to achieve, rely on the fact that practitioners invoke certain appropriate and powerful images or metaphors, which they then creatively rearrange and shape toward advantageous themes and sought-after outcomes (success in hunting). While the converse is true for Kalinga *ngelin* proscriptions insofar as they denote things/places/actions to be avoided by certain groups precisely because of predicted undesirable outcomes, these two ordered ways

of understanding the world, *nawnaw* and *ngelin*, converge at least in their use of metaphors and analogous imagery. Moreover, for Rosaldo

Metaphors in spells derive from the stuff of physical experience, the ordinary categories of everyday life; and [...] these categories are interrelated in a way that permits the magical practitioner to find new meanings in his world. Concrete experience provides the practitioner with a resource from which to construct a metaphorical reality. A pun on a name, or the physical characteristics of some real or imagined object – these provide him with a repertoire from which he constructs a model of his illness or of a desired cure.

(1975: 179-80)

Ngelin metaphors are similarly drawn from the “ordinary categories of everyday life”, as evident in the prohibition on ‘offensive’ portions of meat or certain fruits. Specific “physical characteristics” are also important factors in those analogies used between a prohibited object and the deemed effect in the subject who consumes it. This is the case with the general shape and colour of markings which on occasion might appear on a newborn baby’s body and the association these markings have with the mother’s consumption, during pregnancy, of strawberries or guavas or the like. This point about sensible properties like shape and colour is taken up below with reference to Tambiah’s idea of analogic transfer of such qualities in magical spells.

Rosaldo additionally observes that Ilongot magical spells, through highlighting particular attributes of quotidian life, are said to relate the practitioner to his immediate goals. On the other hand, some Kalinga *ngelin* at least are concerned with long-term forecasts, and even then not with one-off outcomes like the successful conclusion to an Ilongot hunt. Rather, they are concerned with continuous conditions or states of affairs reflective of an individual’s social values and physical and emotional attributes. Transgressing a *ngelin* is not expected to transform an individual directly, in the way some ritual acts are understood to be performative. It is not so much that Tarlao locals would expect a child upon eating restricted portions of meat to directly tend towards disobedience, verbal inarticulacy or emotional frailty. Rather, these social dispositions, as they are expressed in *ngelin* proscriptions, might be anticipated in a child’s behaviour over time. For instance, Kalinga children whose parents are not strict with them concerning the *ngelin* for certain food items are thought to in later life develop a disobedient nature, or grow up unable to hold their own in verbal confrontation or, as young adults, too readily fall to shortness of breath when running, and so forth. People in general who ignore the *ngelin* on pigs’ knees are thought to develop

painful knees. This disability is a particularly disadvantageous condition in a locale in the hills that is so interlocked with steeply graded paths and foot-trails. There are of course *ngelin* which are concerned with outcomes somewhat closer at hand, those regarding pregnant women, birth, and the state of health of newborn babies for instance, but these still pertain to possible forthcoming situations, not to the sort of immediacy of action related to Ilongot spells.

In discussing metaphors and resemblances in magical acts and utterances, Stanley Tambiah (1985) argues along similar lines that the use of analogy in magical rites is or is intended to be 'persuasive', 'rationalizing' and 'evocative' (1985: 72). Drawing on Hesse, Tambiah refers to the sorts of associations magical practitioners make between things and their salient qualities or features as 'positive analogy', that is, relations between objects such that shared properties or points of similarity are emphasized and as such constitute the comparison (1985: 69). Tambiah reinterprets Evans-Pritchard's early examples of Zande analogies, arguing that local analogical reasoning includes both positive and negative analogies (negative analogies being those that feature dissimilarity among properties and features). More importantly though, he argues that part of the reasoning behind forms of magic which use analogy or metaphor lies in an "expansion of meaning" or a "transfer of additional value" between the objects concerned in what he refers to as analogous thought and action (1985: 71).

Tambiah further exemplifies this notion of 'transfer' by re-analyzing Malinowski's Trobriand garden magic wherein locals use specific plants, weeds, roots, wood and volcanic rock with magical spells. But why these in particular? Tambiah argues that the "logic guiding the selection of these articles is not some mysterious magical force that inheres in them; they are selected on the basis of their spatio-temporal characters like size and shape and their sensible properties like colour and hardness which are abstract concepts and which are given metaphorical values in the Trobriand scheme of symbolic classification," (1985: 42-43). Additionally, Tambiah offers an alternate interpretation of the meanings behind material symbols used by the Trobriand garden magician to increase the size of his garden's "belly" by bringing soil scrapings from a bush hen's nest (apparently large in size) into contact with the adze to be used to dig the garden, while reciting the appropriate spell. Tambiah is critical of Frazerian¹⁰³ analyses advancing theories of "mystical contagion between bush hen mound and the size of the yam," (1985: 43). Instead he argues that the action and the spell used are "simply a metaphorical equivalence set up verbally between the property of size portrayed by

¹⁰³ Here there are similarities with Frazer's late 19th century notion of "sympathetic magic", of which Frazer states "One of the principles of sympathetic magic is that any effect may be produced by imitating it," (1981: 9).

the bush hen's nest with the desired same property in the yam, and lending the mental comparison an air of operational reality by using the soil of the bush hen's nest as a medium of transfer," (*ibid.*). Tambiah sees this as a metaphorical use of language "whereby an attribute is transferred to the recipient via a material symbol which is used metonymically as a transformer. [...] The technique gains its realism by clothing a metaphorical procedure in the operational or manipulative mode of practical action," (*ibid.*).

One of Tambiah's basic points is that "analogy depends on the recognition of similarities between the instances compared," (1985: 69). But a distinction needs to be made between the types of analogy which bring together objects' physical characteristics (guava/skin blemish), and the types in which animals and their perceived characteristics or behavioural qualities are juxtaposed against or stand for human emotions or characteristics. Arguably the latter comparison is one which is made contingent upon complex and culturally-informed ideas about 'human-like' emotional qualities or dispositions locally attributed to animals, and localized to specific animal bodily parts. In a similar culturally-informed anthropomorphic manoeuvre some people in the West might imagine, for example, owls to be wise or foxes sly. As noted above, examples of normal and edible parts of domestic animals to which Tarlao locals attribute certain human characteristics or dispositions include pigs' ears and chickens' heads.¹⁰⁴ The former (linked to children not listening to their parents) conveys with it the idea of being obstinate, disobedient, perhaps even unruly or undisciplined. The latter (linked to people coming away from spirited debates defeated and crying) suggests a lack of defiance or inner-strength in verbal confrontation with an adversary. Arguably there is little we can say in truth about the obstinacy of pigs or the hypersensitivity of chickens. So when the abstract quality of obstinacy, or not listening to one's elders, is locally attributed to pigs and 'gained' through eating pigs' ear, and the similarly abstract quality of emotional weakness is locally attributed to domestic fowls and 'gained' through eating the head, these intellectual operations need to be understood as culturally-informed and not reflective of inherent animal qualities.

Also noteworthy is the *ngelin* concerning the *emut* (rectum) of chickens as it relates both to the bodily process of child-birth as well as the emotional character or disposition of the baby when he or she grows up. This *ngelin* relates on the one hand to the corporality of the constantly contracting and releasing *emut*, conveying with it the unwelcome idea of constriction, narrowing or tightness as it pertains to parturition. On the other hand it relates to the locally perceived emotive quality of timidity or fearfulness in domestic fowls,

¹⁰⁴ Here the reference is to hens (*manga*), not roosters (*kawitan*) which in the Philippines are linked with cockfighting and convey the notion of aggression and fierceness.

conveying with it conceptions of similar and undesirable social characteristics in people. These qualities, constriction and timidity, can for Tarlao people be readily taken as attributes in the experienced world and localized to particular animals, but while in the former quality the analogic aspect is somatic and observable, in the latter it is a perceived emotive quality, culturally inferred. That is, while it is readily apparent from an observation of chickens that the *emut* repeatedly contracts, it cannot be taken as a trans-cultural 'brute fact' about chickens that they are apprehensive or emotionally weak.

One of the implications, then, of Rosaldo's study is that the particulars of metaphors and the meta-concerns of Ilongot magic not only provide a basis for a similar analogical connection between a *ngelin* 'object' and a particular subject in *ngelin* practices. They can also lead to a more encompassing understanding of how these Kalinga practices implicitly refer to undesirable themes and underlying social concerns. Many instances of *ngelin* fit into an overarching motif of physical and emotional weakness and sickness. This theme might be evoked on occasions when pig meat, dog meat or chicken is served with meals, and the opportunity presents itself for *ngelin* infractions. People might equally comment on *ngelin* prohibitions after the 'fact', as when a youth complains of painful feet while hiking to the forest, or when a child is being particularly unruly, or even when someone is seen to too easily yield to verbal intimidations. But I propose that it is the undesirable states of affairs themselves – not the actual avoidance of food substances or the deemed 'transfer' of undesirable values or characteristics – which are of importance to people and which underscore the relevant discourse. Ultimately I suggest that Kalinga avoidance practices tend, through negative contrast, to reflect and support local positive views on social values and principles. An interpretation of *ngelin* in terms of metaphoric images and analogous qualities alone is arguably incomplete without the further understanding of how *ngelin* are situated within and help to sustain broader social contexts.

6.4 *Ngelin* as 'holy day/holiday'

While the majority of *ngelin* presented thus far are related to food consumption and understood to affect the individual in concern, there are other avoidance practices linked to negative outcomes for other than the person who violates them. For instance there is a *ngelin* pertaining to visiting someone's house while members are away in the *payao* harvesting their rice. This is thought to result in a reduced yield for the family. Unaware of this avoidance practice at the time, I had chosen a clear morning during the long harvest months to visit with Perfecto. Passing one of his rice fields on the way I noticed that his mother Agnes was working quietly by herself cutting and bundling the mature crop. She had placed the dozen or so bundles she had just finished tying together to one side, adjacent to

the stepped-path I was following to go up to their house. I acknowledged her with a wave and opted to take a few pictures while I was there, focusing on the *perchos* – stick-grass tied into a knot which locals use to, among other things, keep spirits and others from making off with what is not theirs¹⁰⁵ – which she had placed on top of the rice bundles. Thankfully Perfecto and others did not seem upset at me for my blunder, but from then on I tried to approach my data-gathering house calls with greater awareness.

Moreover, several *ngelin* avoidance practices pertain, not to specific groups, but to residents in general. No one, for instance, should work a fourth consecutive day when clearing ground to plant a mountain garden, as this is one of the stipulations that Kabunyan had given to Tarlao people in the early days of the village.¹⁰⁶ Similar sanctions on work and outdoor activity are found in the Catholic and Anglican liturgical calendar during Holy Week (*simana*). While *simana* is celebrated across the Philippines with recitals of the *parbasa* (the Passion Play in verse), all night vigils, processions, and in some places in Luzon with self-flagellation and cross-nailings, in Tarlao it is observed in a much more subdued manner. On Good Friday of Holy Week I stopped by the Tarlao Catholic church hoping to attend service, but found that there was little activity at the time. A few people sat quietly on the benches. I greeted a neighbour of mine, Samuel, and we sat together and conversed in whispers. Instead of his all-purpose rubber flip-flops he was wearing black leather shoes for the occasion, a rarity. It was a rarity to see him, period, as he usually left quite early in the mornings for his fields, returning late, and mostly kept to himself when home. But that day was a day of non-activity for the community. According to the Church it was an obligatory day of worship and subject to the observances concerning abstinence from eating meat and not undertaking manual labour that would detract from the worship of Apo Dios. This included not going out to one's rice fields or mountain gardens.¹⁰⁷ *Simana*, I learnt through Samuel, is understood as a *ngelin* day, both a Church 'holy day' and a Kalinga 'holiday'.¹⁰⁸

Here was an aspect of Christian liturgy interpreted through an indigenous framework wherein the observance of abstinence from eating meat resembled the numerous *ngelin*

¹⁰⁵ Ill-consequences are said to befall an individual who breaches the trust intended by the person who has made a *perchos*. I have seen a *perchos* placed on a bundle of firewood at the side of a path, and on a motorcycle parked out of sight of houses on the village periphery. People might hang a *perchos* close by when butchering a *carabao* (water buffalo) to ward off roguish spirits looking to make off with chunks of meat, or to protect those hacking at the carcass with their *bolos* (machetes) from spirit attributed 'accidents'.

¹⁰⁶ As noted in Ch IV, sect 4.6.

¹⁰⁷ Ordinary Sundays in the village are similarly considered 'rest days' from agricultural work, although this is inconsistently adhered to by residents.

¹⁰⁸ Piluden-Omengan in her study of traditional burial rites in Sagada, Mountain Province, to the south of Kalinga Province, uses a substantially narrower meaning of the term *ngilin* to refer to a village holiday in deference to the death of a community member (2004: 202).

concerning the avoidance of various types of food, particularly meat. Both the co-occurrence and the acceptance of these two culturally and religiously differing avoidance practices draw parallels with coterminous traditional Kalinga principles concerning the interrelation of *pariyao* and *chusa* on the one hand, and partially overlapping Christian teachings concerning sin and Apo Dios's punishment on the other. But unlike these last two – which arguably ultimately refer back to a common conception of God who sanctifies people's moral orders (Ch II, sect 2.6) – the Christian observance and the various *ngelin* concerning meat do not share a similar ultimate referent. Yet both the Christian observance and the Kalinga one ultimately support each other. Additionally, there is an important convergence involving the 'day of rest' for *simana* and the Kalinga traditional rice rituals known as *to'or*, a key component of which is a stipulation against people leaving the residential area of the village to wander out among the surrounding hills and rice terraces during ritual activity. Again, the *simana* observance parallels the Kalinga one, the former understood in terms of the latter. To contextualize this prohibition against going out to work in the fields on ritual days when such activity is forbidden, I briefly describe below the *to'or* rice planting and harvesting rituals, their embedment in Kalinga mythology and link to Kabunyan, and the relational nature of their continued practice in regards to the threat of sickness from local spirits.

6.5 *To'or* rice planting and harvesting rituals

There are many origin tales told in Tarlao about Kabunyan, the Kalinga God, who long ago shaped the surrounding mountains from flat land, and who created humanity first at Tarlao village and then elsewhere in Kalinga and beyond. People tell of how Kabunyan in the guise of an ordinary Kalinga man came to the village a long time ago to guide Tarlao people in their everyday endeavours because he saw that in many ways they needed help. Stories tell, for example, of how Kabunyan showed Tarlao people the correct way to flood and foot-plough their rice fields (*papayao*), and advised when best to plant seeds. People say that from Kabunyan they originally learnt how to cut their crop and tie the stalks into manageable bundles, how to sun-dry the bundles, then how to best pound the rice (*pakoy*) and winnow away the chaff in large, shallow baskets called *labnac*.

Kabunyan also taught locals how to conduct rituals to help the rice grow, and showed them the specific rice terraces in which they should be performed at particular stages throughout the season. Respecting these rituals, referred to singly and collectively as *to'or*, will ensure a successful crop that will last families throughout the year. Kabunyan, it is said, came to the village on several other occasions imparting, among other things, technical knowledge such as basket weaving and hunting skills. People say that Kabunyan eventually left them, perhaps retreating ever deeper into the hill country, nobody knows, but he has never come back.

Implicit to these origin stories is the idea that, although Kabunyan in human form had once interacted with people, he had generations ago stepped back from the workings of the quotidian world, leaving ritual ability and know-how in the hands of a few individuals who have passed it on to relatives ever since. These 'ancestor-chosen' practitioners are obliged to perform the *to'or* every growing season on behalf of the village and for the benefit of all Tarlao rice fields (*papayao*).

Other than yielding a successful crop for all community households, people acknowledge that respecting the *to'or* effects other outcomes for them as well, including lessening the toll rats, rice-birds and insects can take on the crop over the growing months; increasing the chance that, after the harvest, people's stored grain would be sufficient to provide them with food throughout the year; reducing sickness and accidents across the village; and effecting a lasting sense of community accord. One lunchtime while ladling me a plateful of rice from a blackened cooking pot just taken off the three *charpong* stones of his kitchen fire, Juan added another benefit to the list; that Tarlao rice, because locals keep the *to'or*, sustains them many hours longer than lowland commercial rice that is produced with fertilizers, pesticides and without knowledge of the *to'or*. Moreover, as Tarlao farmers invest in only a single crop a year due to both the variety of rice they grow, and the altitude and cold conditions in which they grow it, much hinges on not only the effort to enhance nature through agricultural rituals, but on other divine assistance as well. Tessie once told me that she and her husband Pabro and others start to prepare the muddy terraces for rice planting somewhere around the end of November, but people more properly know the beginning of the planting season when they hear the distinctive "*ewe, ewe*" sound made by a particular type of small bird seen around the terraces or up in the forest only at that time of the year. People take the *ewe* bird's appearance as a divine omen that this is the right time to begin the year's rice cycle.

The *to'or* rituals are performed in strict seclusion, and no one other than the spirit-chosen ritual practitioner for each *to'or* can know the form of the ritual. For locals, knowing intimate details of the *to'or* would lessen its potency. Broadly though, *to'or* ritual activity coincides with the main stages of the upland rice growing season, and briefly these are: seed-planting to produce a densely packed patch of shoots (*pachug*); the uprooting and replanting of young shoots evenly spaced across many irrigated fields (*orag*); the weeding of a small section of a designated terrace or *payao* as the crops ripen (*lechas*); and the token cutting of a handful of the mature crop (*tachang*).

Closely related to the *to'or* for weeding (*lechas*) is the ritual for placing a small bamboo bird-frightening device (*ilao*, or *ogyat*), designed to flutter in the wind, and which of itself does not require a *to'or* day because it is set up in the designated *payao* during the dead of night to help ensure its success. The ritual practitioner also leaves a wad of tobacco leaf wedged into a slit in the top of a *runo* stick stuck into the ground. According to Peter this is an offering made to spirits whose compliance is sought in the effort to repel rice-birds. Offerings like this are uncommon in other circumstances as seldom if at all do people petition spirits; if anything locals go out of their way to avoid them and the sickness they cause. Related to this, there is often a certain ambiguity in who exactly people are entreating with when they engage in relations across a human/spirit world divide. For example, whereas Kabunyan initially instructed the first Tarlao people in the *to'or*, a recently deceased ancestor might also indicate through a dream which of their now-living relatives is to continue with a *to'or* ritual that the ancestor was responsible for when alive. Additionally folks nowadays might just as readily implicate Apo Dios in the outcome of the harvest.¹⁰⁹

The planting rituals take place in the particular fields indicated in traditional stories, and if the ancestor spirit associated with it still deems it so, and if people agree there have been beneficial results, the *to'or* will continue to be performed there. The remaining rituals each involve a specific ancestor-chosen individual who conducts the ritual in seclusion in the particular *payao* originally revealed to them in dream. The favourable outcome of *to'or* procedures is predicated on them being performed by individuals who are eligible by virtue of being a descendant of a recent ancestor, typically a mother, grandmother or aunt who had themselves, when they were alive, successfully performed a particular *to'or* ritual. But genealogical eligibility does not by rights guarantee a person ritual ability once the previous ritual practitioner dies. If a particular *to'or* practitioner after some time proves unsuccessful at their task people would ask them to stop, interpreting this to mean that the spirits are somehow displeased with that person.

A number of years ago a Tarlao woman had been uncommonly successful with the *tachang* or harvesting *to'or*, and season after season as she performed the ritual the community reaped an unusually abundant harvest. Also as part of the *tachang* ritual omens are read into the token cuttings of ripe stalks by shaking them to see if any grains fall off. People who remember this plentiful period sometimes associate it with another story of the time, that of a successful 'tribal war' foray by Tarlao men who brought back an enemy head during the long and bloody conflict they were locked in with a distant village. The success in battle had

¹⁰⁹ This ambiguity parallels the vagueness locals' express in indicating whether Apo Dios or spirits are behind the sorts of misfortune taken as retribution (Chapter IV, sect 9). Of greater importance in such cases is the understanding that such misfortune is spirit-world attributed.

been also attributed to this woman's ritual abilities. Apparently over time she became a little irritated by being asked to do the ritual year after year and one year she angrily refused. She and her family eventually migrated to the flatlands near Tabuk. When I got the chance to visit one afternoon she and her husband were child-minding their grandson. Albert, one of Peter's nephews, lived next door to this family and provided the introductions. She spoke only a little of her involvement with the *to'or* and was surprised that I took an interest in such topics. But she did tell me that every year without fail around the time of the *tachang to'or* up in the mountain country, even though she now lived so far away, she felt a sickness come on and could do nothing but endure it until it passed. According to Peter the spirits were still calling her to her task. The *tachang* in the meanwhile had been taken up by another of this woman's relatives in the village, a woman who, in a like manner, seasonally collects the little bundle of harvested rice (*pakoy*) and reads the omens.

Other locals have also been known to refuse ritual obligation despite being genealogically eligible and despite being summoned to the task by an ancestor spirit. A man named Smith from a *purok* a few kilometres further up the valley is the eligible inheritor of one of the rituals associated with the *to'or*, one which is no longer practiced because this man has not yet accepted the responsibility people say is his. Peter complained to me that this lack of commitment lessens the overall benefit of the *to'or* for everyone. For reasons unclear to me, Smith has for years declined to officiate this seasonal ritual. Corazon and others, impressing on me what they took to be the consequences of disobeying spirits, link this man's refusal to perform the ritual to bouts of madness known to stricken him from time to time and during which he runs away from home and family for days at a stretch. Another man, the Tarlao grade-three school teacher, had suffered from a debilitating ailment for two years before giving in to neighbours' insistence that his illness was the result of spirits calling him to take over his uncle Philippe's responsibility for the *ilao* ritual. Locals finish this story by telling me how this fellow recovered that part of his health after committing to the ritual.

Dozier (1966), describing ritual procedures associated with northern Kalinga dry-rice cultivation, notes that for villagers there "prayers are made in general to the departed spirits of grandparents and also to the deity of the rice. Sometimes, as in Poswoy [northern Kalinga], the deity is specifically named (Daladaw); elsewhere it is thought of simply as Kaboniyán, although apparently the name is never mentioned," (1966: 143). In Tarlao people spoke of a spirit named Inoryan who decades ago lived at a large old *esit* tree¹¹⁰ which stood at the time on the periphery of a prominent rice terrace near the village. This spirit kept

¹¹⁰ Also called a *balete*, or banyan tree, which in popular Filipino culture is often associated with various types of spirits.

chickens with iridescent feathers and presided over the growing rice. The local elder responsible for performing a particular *to'or* ritual involving cooking a pot of rice under this tree on a particular day each season once gleaned omens from the cooked rice concerning the community's harvest. Locals say the aged tree eventually rotted and fell, and the rice spirit Inoryan left the valley not to return (Shedden, 2008: 122). Despite the absence of this particular spirit Tarlao residents continue to keep the five remaining *to'ors* religiously, the continuing importance of which is most saliently illustrated when even the ritual 'setting', the passive role all village residents play during a *to'or*, is disturbed by someone.

6.6 Simana observances framed through *ngelin* and *to'or* practices

All Tarlao residents are obligated to remain confined to their homes and yards while the ritual practitioner performs the particular *to'or* she or he is responsible for, and in doing so everyone in the village plays an implicit part too. The successful performance of these guarded rituals is predicated on them not only being performed in seclusion at the designated *payao* in the proper manner and by the authorized individual, but the appropriate ritual context as well. This includes an undisturbed environment which is best achieved when people are quiet and indoors, and extends to visitors who are prohibited from entering or leaving the village on a *to'or* day. To this end someone would set up makeshift barriers of sticks, planks or whatever might be at hand across paths leading to the village. They would also attach a *perchos* (knotted stick-grass) to the barrier to warn visitors that a community ritual event is taking place and that they should not disturb. School remains closed and Nelson's jeepney remains immobile. Normal activity resumes at about midday. People take violations of the rules regarding movement around the village seriously. Whereas spirit-related sickness is understood to come as a result of an 'ancestor-chosen' individual failing in some way to fulfill their ritual duties, the punishment or penalty for a breach of *to'or* stipulations committed by members of the general public does not concern spirits but the community themselves.

One morning I learnt first-hand of the kind of outcry a transgression against *to'or* 'rest days' will bring. A young man had been seen going out to work his mountain garden during a designated day of non-activity following one of the *to'or* rituals, effectively spoiling the ritual for everyone. A small group of irate and vociferous women had gathered in front of the old Anglican priest's house. Fr. Buyagan, who no longer lived in the village, happened to be visiting that week from his parish to the south. He was, many years ago, the first Tarlao local to attend a seminary and be ordained a priest, and was instrumental in securing the land and getting the Anglican church built in Tarlao in the early 1980s. That morning he found himself a reluctant adjudicator in a village dispute over something I have known him in the

past to unhesitatingly dismiss as pagan – namely non-Christian rituals. But he knows the *to'or* is taken very seriously by Tarlao locals and the women were not to be denied. They could have equally taken up their petition with the *barangay kapitan*, but seeing Fr. Buyagan idling on his family porch that morning they confronted him, asking him to intercede. Instead, seeing that I was passing by, the old priest (*pade*) called me over to sit with him a while. I was curious to see that he was polishing a rifle, which with a wry smile he offered to sell to me. The women, meanwhile, angrily demanded that the offender should be made to pay a penalty (*molta*). They insisted the man make amends to the community for the affront made to the propriety of the *to'or*. Such penalties usually take the form of a communal meal which an offender and his family are required to put on for the whole village. This almost always includes butchering a pig, the cost of which in this case becomes the penalty, and without which people would protest that a penalty was not in fact paid.

In a related example a senior Tarlao man was made to provide a communal meal for the village (as *molta*) for circumstances involving the use out of turn and without permission of iron rods and cement reserved by the *barangay kapitan* for households which legitimately qualified for assistance for his proposed 'family toilet construction' project. This man was found out and he and members of his family laboured (probably for days before hand) to pound rice and then butcher and cook a pig, at tremendous personal cost, which they served from large basins to everyone in the village, myself included, whose duty it was to come for our allotment of rice and meat. As it turned out it was an affable affair and the host (the man being penalized) greeted me with the sheepish grin of someone who had been caught in the act and could do little but accept the outcome and make the most of it. Groups dispersed after they had eaten, leaving their plastic plates and bowls for one of the host family to collect and wash so others could eat. Thus while the local idiom *chusa* refers to a kind of spirit-world derived comeuppance that has or will catch up with ill-intentioned people, *molta* is a form of punishment which an offended and angry community mete out to individuals who overstep a boundary such as this one, or the one regulating people's movement beyond the domicile on *to'or* days. A similar transgression during *simana* or Holy Week, on the other hand, would displease those closely involved with the Church, but reprimand, were there to be any, would come from Apo Dios in accordance with local understandings of *sin/pariyao* and punishment/*chusa*.

Returning to the interpretation of *ngelin* as 'holy day/holiday', there are parallels to be drawn between the Christian obligation of non-activity during the height of *simana* and the 'rest day' which accompanies all *to'or* rituals. Both are concerned with people refraining from going out to work in their fields. Both are also integral to their own historically, doctrinally

and cosmologically differing yet co-occurring liturgical orders, their own religious systems. Distinct ritual activity such as that associated with *simana* and the *to'or* complement each other in similar ways to the manner in which the local concept of *pariyao* complements Christian moral authority (Ch II, sect 2.6). That is, the observances of *simana* and the prohibitions of *to'or* both support and are supported by postulates concerning Apo Dios and Kabunyan respectively. That these divinities are taken by Tarlao locals to be one and the same God allows for the sort of harmony or cohesion wherein participation at one ritual does not contradict participation at another.

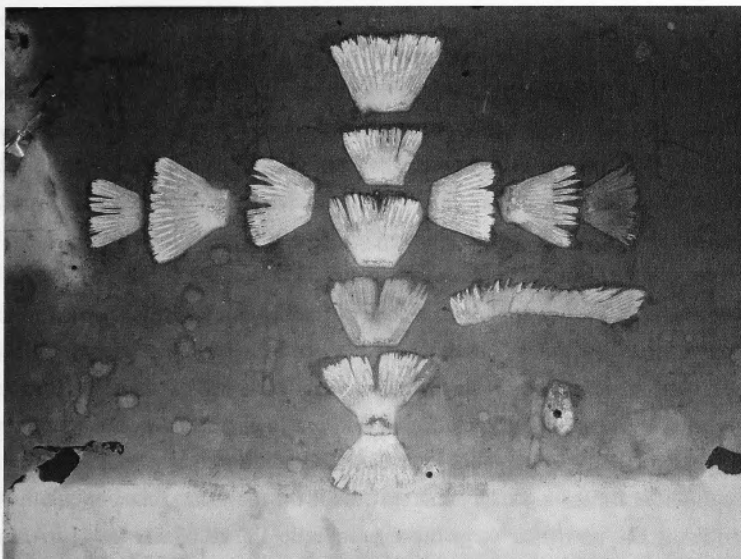
The similarity of prohibitions against work on sacred days allows *simana* to be understood in terms of the *to'or*, while the Christian observance concerning an abstinence from eating meat, insofar as it parallels the numerous Kalinga avoidance practices also focused on meat, allows *simana* in addition to be interpreted in terms of *ngelin*. In other words, this feature of Christian liturgy, like many others, is understood through an indigenous framework, through that part of the *to'or* taken as 'holy day/holiday', and through *ngelin* as avoidance practices. Conversely, a similar and important observation can be made regarding *ngelin*, that it can be understood in terms of *simana* in two ways, abstinence and non-activity. Although locals do not explicitly refer to *to'or* rituals in terms of *ngelin*, the interpretation of *ngelin* as 'holy day/holiday' and its local expression as a temporary prohibition against work, including work in the fields, suggests at least in theory a commonality with aspects of the *to'or*. This commonality is a matter of degrees – *ngelin* is linked to *simana* which in turn is linked to the *to'or*. Put in another way, the *to'or* reinforces *simana* in terms of historical Kalinga practices, and *simana* in a way ties *ngelin* to a Christian cosmology.

The latter pairing has relevance for Rappaport's argument that such principles and practices as *ngelin* can seem random, ungrounded or subjective if not supported by assertions concerning an ultimate sanctifying force, and by the associated ritual activity that sustains such assertions. But as *simana* is understood through the Kalinga *ugali* of *ngelin*, then by association those *ngelin* concerning the avoidance of meat can be seen, at least in part, to resonate with the religious framework through which *simana* observances are sanctified or legitimized. This observation is not to gainsay locals' assertions that Apo Dios or indigenous spirits are *not* responsible for *ngelin* outcomes, as by all accounts they are not, but merely to suggest that *ngelin* practices in a somewhat understated way might come to have further relevance in a Kalinga society now fully immersed in Christianity. In addition I maintain that *ngelin* interdictions as a tradition onto themselves – through which Tarlao locals express in explicit negative contrast implicit positive social values and characteristics – fall under the

rubric of local cosmology, coterminous with and complementary to, yet distinct from, the integrated practices and assertions around which Kalinga religion is organized.

Chapter VII

Religious synthesis as change and continuity



Occasional signs of Christianity: an imprint above the door to the house I occupied

Throughout this thesis I have asked how Kalinga locals incorporate and make meaningful a multiplicity of trans-local Christian and traditional religious activity in their everyday lives. Broadly, the array of religious pluralism which I have examined in pursuing this question include local interpretations of the divine, as well as the congruities and incongruities that are apparent between distinct ritual systems, divergent moral orders, and intersecting cosmologies. I have argued that long-established Kalinga ritual activity and more recently introduced Catholic and Anglican liturgy are most prominently dissimilar on historical, doctrinal and cosmological grounds. I have argued that while both Kalinga and Christian religious traditions occupy their own spheres at the village level they are locally made to cohere by recourse to explicit claims concerning an ultimate divine referent, but implicitly by being mutually framed through the prevalent cosmological understanding which links misfortune to morality.

I maintain that there has been a shift in the way people normally come to terms with this principle – from, on the one hand, attributing debilitating sickness and injury to the workings of indigenous spirits or the Kalinga deity Kabunyan as people's just deserts for

wrongdoings, to, on the other hand, interpreting such unwelcome circumstances as the manifestation of Apo Dios's retribution for moral trespass. This lateral shift, framing Christian doctrine in terms of the general principle which has historically framed traditional religious understanding in the village, is what ties dissimilar traditions together at social and ethical levels. It is at this same level, moreover, that contradictions can emerge between differing traditions. For example, Kalinga funerals, as detailed in chapter V, are events of extraordinary significance for the bereaved family and on occasion the whole community. They are also occasions when the most salient disconnect between Kalinga and Christian understandings concerning the nature of the human soul and the cosmos are paradoxically brought together (Ch IV, sect 4.3; Ch V, sect 5.3).

There is, moreover, an ethnographic particularity that figures into the equation with respect to this paradox. In southern Kalinga society there is a strong tendency for people to distinguish endogenous from exogenous cultural traditions within their social sphere. And while there may not always be acceptance, in whole or in part, of new ways of understanding and doing things, there is nonetheless little or no discrimination against those who do adhere to different traditions; such adherence is for the most part taken to be others' *ugali*, their traditions, the particular ways other groups do things (Ch I, sect 1.10). In Tarlao doctrinal contradictions such as those concerning the afterlife invariably seem to be glossed over non-confrontationally, and at funeral gatherings trans-local Christian teachings and traditional Kalinga assertions are left to hang in irreconcilable difference. This of course might not necessarily be the case in other ethnographic settings across the Cordillera and beyond. Of importance, however, is that the prevailing understanding linking morality to misfortune along cosmological lines, enabling trans-local Christianity to be understood in terms of the aggregate of assertions and practices constitutive of Kalinga religion, brings these two religious traditions together in the general social sphere despite historical and doctrinal differences.

This mutual framing of traditions, and to a lesser extent the differing nature of spirit-world interactions and local avoidance practices, is predicated on the aforementioned religious traditions and cosmological systems intersecting at various points but remaining distinct from one another. I maintain that this distinction is an important one in a post-colonial Kalinga context. Despite wide participation in a variety of ritual forms across historical, doctrinal and cosmological boundaries, such activity in Tarlao is, I argue, best understood as co-occurring, inter-related, often overlapping, but discrete, rather than composite, amalgamated or syncretic. Here notions of religious synthesis need to be taken beyond an analysis of a society's religious activity to an analysis that takes into account the axioms that

shape such activity. In the following section I engage with a selection of recent literature concerning syncretic religious processes, detailing differing approaches within the discourse, then positioning the Kalinga research to these approaches. I begin with a discussion of the limits of the term syncretism itself.

7.1 Institutional and indigenous syncretic processes

Shaw and Stewart (1994) note that there is a tendency for certain scholars to reserve the term syncretism for the domain of religious or ritual practice, that which encompasses the interaction or combination of elements of two historically dissimilar religious traditions (1994: 9). Werbner (1994) argues that such an approach is useful for distinguishing syncretism from bricolage, or the “formation of fresh cultural forms from the ready-to-hand debris of old ones,” insofar as it has the “advantage of keying analysis to that semantic load of religious contestation and contentiousness which is so dominantly distinctive of syncretism,” (1994: 215). Shaw and Stewart, however, argue that this distinction may not always be as evident as Werbner suggests. While agreeing in principle that the term syncretism be reserved for describing interactions of religious spheres, they remind us that the term ‘religion’ itself is a culturally constructed Western category which may not be significant in other cultural and historical contexts, and further, may not at times be separable from other social practices (Shaw and Stewart, 1994: 10). In cases like these they argue, it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate religious syncretism from other forms of secular hybridization (*ibid.*). Similarly, in an example from PNG, Mosko (2001) describes a conflation of elements of long-established North Mekeo indigenous religious activity with the more recent emergence of ‘*kerismatik*’ Catholic ritual in the region, but argues that such syncretic processes also include ways in which village residents earlier comprehended and assimilated money and commodities into their lives (2001: 271). Paralleling the more recent processes of religious syncretism in the region, the earlier trend toward material assimilation, he argues, might also be thought of as a form of syncretic process, albeit a non-religious one.

Moreover, the integration of indigenous and exogenous religious assertions and practices can be approached from an institutional standpoint, insofar as it is argued that Christian establishments have, to various extents, historically taken incremental steps toward a partial integration with pre-existing religious traditions. This integration manifests as a re-working of certain doctrinal elements with respect to locally held traditions in order for the religious ideas being introduced to prove more accessible at the local level. In discussing Protestantism in Southeast Asia, Keyes (1991) argues that early Christian missionaries, in an endeavour to align a particular Christian denomination with pre-existing indigenous

religious assertions and practices, and to more easily gain converts, might historically have modified in part the message they were bringing to local communities. This he argues was likely a purposeful move to vernacularize certain elements of doctrine and cosmology in order to render them site-specific and more compatible with local traditions, adapting them to practices which would be locally meaningful (1991: 178). Similarly, according to Aguilar (1998), who speaks to the early Spanish occupation of the Philippines and the spread of Catholicism, this process of indigenized Christianity can be understood as a means of purposeful organization on the part of the religious institution. He argues that indigenizing projects such as these are often imposed by elites to control the direction of religious synthesis.

In a similar example of Christian conversionary strategy, Meyer (1994), working with the Ewe of Ghana, proposes that religious syncretism can result from the processes of what she calls vernacularization and demonization. According to Meyer processes of vernacularization are ones by which mission society Bible translators attempt to achieve the best transmission of the Christian text into other languages and across other cultural domains (1994: 61). This process of religious change embossed perceived commonalities between Christian and traditional faiths in that missionaries paralleled conceptions of the Christian God with what they took to be the chief indigenous deity, and implemented a process of 'diabolization' by teaching that Christian spirits were good while autochthonous spirits were evil. Aguilar (1998) also notes that through the process of early Spanish missionization of the Philippines locals eventually came to replace concepts of indigenous spirits with Hispanic ones. Magos (1992: 51-52) gives a similar account in her comparison of Philippines pre-conquest cosmology with present-day cosmology, in which she notes over the generations locals have inserted into their cosmological map certain Hispanic spiritual beings replacing some of their original indigenous ones.

Taking a different approach, Taylor's (2007) discussion of Cham Muslims of the Mekong delta, whose indigenized Islamic narratives are framed within Buddhist conceptions, brings into focus the borrowing of religious elements across differing religious spheres. These in turn speak to broader concerns of sociality and identity (2007: 112). Taylor suggests that the Cham religious worldview is to an extent influenced by Buddhism, or conversely, that due to a certain sense of passivity on the part of the Cham, a widely held externally orchestrated theology such as Buddhism can oblige them to re-shape aspects of their own religious understanding to conform to the language of the regionally dominant religion. This could be understood as influence from the outside directed in, or, as Meyer (1994) puts it, as a hierarchical approach to syncretism, or syncretism 'from above'. Yet Taylor argues that this

is not the whole story with the Cham as they also appropriate from Buddhism, asserting parity as they do so in a process which demonstrates their agency, and one which can, according to Taylor, reveal how minority groups in the region vie for local distinctiveness by drawing upon universalist ideologies, (2007: 112).

Importantly, processes of religious change stimulated by external influence can also bring about resistance to such change at the local level. In their study of syncretism as the politics of religious synthesis, Shaw and Stewart (1994) introduce a notion that they term 'anti-syncretism', which they define as the "antagonism to religious synthesis shown by agents concerned with the defence of religious boundaries," (1994: 7). Importantly they note that such divisions can be intentionally created by locals to underscore a defining sense of difference or identity. Shaw and Stewart's notion of anti-syncretism may also be applied to Aguilar's early colonial period Philippines descriptions of local acts of confrontation toward Christian authority by once influential village elite. In the face of rising Christian conversions, and more particularly in reaction to the change this was bringing to the traditional political standings of village leaders, Aguilar notes that some shamans and chiefs colluded to defend a system of indigenous belief which had historically provided legitimacy to their social positions, (1998: 44-45). This authority, traditionally expressed through indigenous religious conceptions and long held in terms of a historical cultural framework, was here challenged by the shifting social and political conditions brought about by these processes of religious change (*ibid.*). Yet, as Aguilar notes, not all village leaders challenged the spread of Christianity in their region. Some managed to work within this new religious landscape, accepting baptism while seeking ways to re-establish their original positions of influence in the community, for example, through claiming prominent roles in the proceedings of various Christian festivals and other celebrations held throughout the year.

Returning now to Tarlao Kalinga, while I have shown that distinct religious traditions co-occur according to their own internal logic, religious practice in the village can to some extent be understood in terms of the ideas about syncretism discussed above. I have argued that Agnes's Sunday mass is an expression of Christianity in a localized form (Ch IV). The incorporation during her mass of elements of Christian liturgy and the sorts of traditional healing involving spiritually complicated sickness is readily recognizable as a form of religious syncretism. Integration here, however, needs to be understood as more than a combining of disparate ritual elements into the one vernacularized performance. In order to contribute meaningfully to a discourse on syncretic processes, analysis of the Kalinga mass needs to be taken at a more conceptual level – with respect to the Kalinga *pariyao/chusa*, or wrongdoing/punishment axiom. The message that Agnes endeavours to hammer home each

Sunday morning is that people are afflicted with sickness because Apo Dios has punished them for their recurrent bad behaviour. She treats with medicine those whom Apo Dios calls forth on that day with the proviso – drawing on core Christian salvation doctrine – that the medicine she gives will cure them only if they put paid to their *pariyao* conduct and take up Apo Dios's teachings. The practices of other Tarlao traditional healers who treat spiritually complicated sickness revolve around similar understandings that an afflicted person is sick precisely because of their own doing and that their sickness is a form of spirit-world punishment.

Accordingly, the conflation of Christian liturgy and Kalinga healing traditions in Agnes's mass can be seen as an instance of a more general syncretic integration underwritten by the axiomatic principle according to which much of Kalinga social and moral life is shaped. This analysis of the intersection of co-occurring religious traditions provides a productive approach to Kalinga religious synthesis in terms of general principles rather than particular rituals practiced. In other words, where congruence has been locally manufactured between discrete religious traditions – such as, for example, in the mutual framing of aspects of Christianity and *ngelin*, or in the lateral employment of the Kalinga axiom *pariyao/chusa* – an argument can be made in favour of syncretic processes. Where there is disjuncture between elements of those same traditions – such as in the irreconcilable cosmological and doctrinal differences between Christian and Kalinga assertions of an afterlife, drawn to a point at the climax of local funerals – arguments of syncretism become difficult to sustain.

Related to this, what might be regarded as 'non-syncretism' in these terms differs from Shaw and Stewart's abovementioned notion of anti-syncretism insofar as local non-confrontational recognition of difference – with neither outright rejection nor wholesale embracement of such difference – implicitly engenders the preservation of religious boundaries without having to resort to antagonism. Religious synthesis then, or at least integration to certain extents at multiple levels, is best understood, not just in straight forward terms of change or transformation in ways of seeing and doing things relative to a local spirit-world but, as I have tried to show throughout the thesis, also in terms of continuity of traditions. Ultimately though, in this context congruence and disjuncture across religious traditions becomes meaningful, not at the level of practice – where in Tarlao, outside of Agnes's mass, it is for the most part kept, among other things, spatially discrete – but in understanding the ways in which fundamental cosmological principles shape that practice.

7.2 Revisiting thesis themes

Throughout the five ethnographic chapters of this thesis I have worked with two main interrelated themes. The first concerns what Rappaport calls cosmological axioms (1999: 264-65), the broad principles concerning the relationships according to which the cosmos is ordered and around which, in this case, much of Kalinga social, moral and religious life is constructed. The second theme is that of religious integration, how trans-local Christianity and indigenous Kalinga traditions relate to each other. In a Kalinga context the first theme can be stated as *pariyao/chusa/karu*, or moral transgression/ spirit-world retribution/ ritual reparation. This prevailing local principle has a significant bearing on the extent to which people conduct themselves ethically and, as outlined in the introductory chapter, transgressions in this regard are widely understood to sooner or later bring about the sorts of consequences attributed to a transcendent Other. The understanding that social and moral transgression, broadly conceived, will provoke a response from deity or spirits, and that that response typically manifests in persistent sickness or injury is moreover a conceptual framework through which Christian doctrine concerning sin and God's punishment is locally understood – effectively tying the first theme, the link between human action and other-worldly reaction, to the second, the intersection of Christianity and Kalinga religious assertions and practices (Ch I, sect 1.3).

With regard to the second of these two themes, one way in which core tenets common to Catholicism and Anglicanism in Tarlao are made locally meaningful relative to traditional religious assertions and practices is in the prevalent understanding that the same apical divinity is the ultimate referent across historically distinct religious traditions. When questioning Tarlao locals about this I was consistently met with the inevitable refrain that – despite the different expressions of address, verbal and ritual, and the particularities of either deity's earthly manifestations in historical times – there was of course only one God. The integration of Apo Dios and Kabunyan in this broad claim, unanimous across the village, is one important means through which locals justify their adherence to and participation in multiple forms of Christianity. The liturgical particularities of these Christianities include the Communion rite, baptism, the exegesis of scripture, and the healing practices of Agnes, God's chosen messenger to this southern Kalinga municipality. It equally justifies, among other indigenous traditions, people's observance of interdictions related to Kalinga *to'or* rice rituals, the butchering of domestic animals in the *karu* and *mampisat* as a counterbalance to sickness and misfortune, and the numerous ritual actions taken to protect against the malevolence of indigenous spirits. In other words, disparate forms of practices at the ground level can be and are locally justified at a more abstract level through local claims of a singular transcendent Other who sanctifies those practices.

Moreover, in addressing the primary thesis question, there is, as mentioned above, another and more nuanced way of accounting for people's encompassing participation in historically, cosmologically and doctrinally dissimilar liturgical orders, an approach which focuses on the relationships obtaining across the social and spirit worlds as outlined in the overarching Kalinga axiom concerning *pariyao/chusa*. It is not an approach which undermines locals' claims that a singular divinity is the ultimate referent in all religious activity across the village and beyond. On the contrary, it complements such assertions while allowing for further investigation of similarities and differences in cosmological and doctrinal elements between trans-local Christian and traditional Kalinga religion.

Putting this alternate means of defining cross-religious articulation into perspective, clearly visible from the main road in the nearest township to Tarlao village is a rendition of the Mosaic Ten Commandments painted in large letters on the wall of the Catholic high school.¹¹¹ These Judeo-Christian proscriptions, other than the opening postulate concerning the existence of a universal God, include many fundamental social and moral ways of acting in the world, corresponding for the most part with Kalinga ethical sensibilities and the avoidance of acts of *pariyao*, of immoral conduct. It is not unreasonable to denote commonalities between Apo Dios and Kabunyan, and hence trans-local Christianity and Kalinga religious traditions, along such social and moral lines. The broad concordance between Christian and Kalinga social and moral conventions and interdictions reflects a similar concordance between the general principles from which those values and rules are derived – expressed in Christian doctrine in the relationship between sin and God's punishment, and in the Kalinga axiom *pariyao/chusa*. In a related way the correspondence between social and moral obligations and expectations, Kalinga and trans-local Christian, also helps to underpin the claim, consistent across the village from clergy to congregants to ordinary residents, that one God presides over all. But I argue that this latter point of coherence does not offer the depth of detail for understanding the complexity of Kalinga religious activity as does an exploration of the framing of that activity with the axiom that links misfortune to morality.

Related to this, despite people's acceptance of and engagement with a broad spectrum of co-occurring religious forms across the village there can be major and minor elements between these distinct traditions that contradict each other, as mentioned above most notably on the

¹¹¹ The Decalogue in this instance was rendered in English. Although Ilocano tends to be used in the local Catholic services, and Ilocano and English are used on alternate Sundays in Anglican services, the prominent use of English for this wall mural is a ready reminder of Christianity's trans-local character, its links to modernity.

last day of Kalinga funerals. There is a stark contrast between traditional Kalinga understandings of the temporarily potent spirit of the deceased, released upon death, and its eventual fading from memory and existence, and Christian notions concerning the eternal existence of an individual's soul, subject to an ethicized afterlife and contingent upon a moral or sinful earthly life, (Ch IV, sect 4.3). The common Kalinga interpretation is that spirit-world retribution manifests variously as hardship and suffering for the individual in concern or their family. Conversely, Christian teachings promote the understanding that God's retribution for an accumulation of unrepentant sinful conduct, following death and divine judgement, is visited upon an individual's eternal soul.¹¹² Importantly, in looking at cross-religious activity, while certain fundamental relationships can be taken to cohere in a general sense, others might differ substantively.

I have approached this weave of complementary and contradictory religious activity through a multi-level perspective which takes as a starting point Rappaport's model of contingent sanctification. Rappaport argues that ritual activity and many of society's rules, expectations and understandings derive from the axioms or paradigmatic relationships upon which the cosmos is constructed. Briefly, these in turn are sanctified by more fundamental postulates concerning an apical divinity or class of spirits who, moreover, certify the entire system of understandings in accordance with which people conduct their lives. Additionally, an important part of that conduct is the ritual activity that affirms the divinity in whose name that activity is undertaken (1999: 264-65). The advantage of such a perspective in addressing the central thesis question concerning locals' participation in a plurality of distinct religious activity is that it provides an entry for critical dialogue concerning social and moral aspects of a society's religious assertions.

In particular, Rappaport's differentiation of fundamental sacred postulates from assertions concerning the relationships that order the cosmos, and from the ritual activity contingent upon and supportive of those assertions, allows for not only a detailed analysis of internally coherent religious systems, but – through a particular extension of Rappaportian theory which I propose here – of distinct and co-occurring traditions across a multi-religious landscape. In post-colonial Kalinga, for example, it would make sense that the same contingent perspective could be brought to bear separately on long-established local traditions on the one hand, and trans-local Christian ones on the other, the former and latter having their own historically distinct liturgical orders, doctrine and cosmology. Moreover,

¹¹² The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1994) teaches that the soul is immortal (93), and affirms that each person's soul "will be rewarded immediately after death in accordance with his works and faith," and that each "receives his eternal retribution [...] either entrance into the blessedness of heaven [...] or immediate and everlasting damnation," (266-67).

each tradition, according to this perspective, would draw on its own important principles governing the relationships that hold between local social and supernatural spheres.

For example, the Kalinga *pariyao/chusa* axiom shapes people's domestic animal reparatory sacrifice in a particular way, which itself affirms the apical divinity who sanctifies such axioms. Paralleling this, Christian notions of an economy of salvation – of which an implicit Kalinga understanding relates sin to Apo Dios's more or less immediate punishment – influences adherents' involvement in liturgical practices. Participation in such liturgy in turn affirms Apo Dios as the apical divinity who sanctifies a society's axioms concerning moral trespass and other-worldly retribution. At one level claims to a singular presiding divinity align, while at another the particularities of ritual performance differ considerably. At an intermediate level, that of the axiomatic principles which shape society's interdictions, moral expectations, and ritual practice, enough similarity seems to exist to bridge differing religious traditions and further justify locals' participation in cross-religious traditions. Local engagement in historically and doctrinally unrelated liturgical practices are in this way be made to align in light of general cosmological principles, which are themselves justified on the grounds that they ultimately derive from or are sanctified by the same God. Analytical focus at the intermediate level of cosmological axioms offers productive ways to consider the social, moral and cosmological incongruities, tensions and gaps that can arise when people construe particular events and circumstances in their lives according to distinct and sometimes contradictory elements of an otherwise encompassing religious framework.

Unanimous claims that all religious activity across the village and beyond in one capacity or another ultimately refers back to the one apical divinity accord well with Catholic and Anglican clergy and catechists. This is particularly so given that virtually all Tarlao residents these days identify such a divinity as Apo Dios. Less subject to explicit pronouncement but most clearly evident in locals' approach to Christianity is the notion that all moral transgression refers back to or is understood through the same cosmological principle, *pariyao/chusa*, and is punishable by a transcendent Other – in Christian doctrine, Apo Dios; in Kalinga tradition, a supernatural and moral entity taken to be either Apo Dios, Kabunyan, or at times certain indigenous spirits. Thus while assertions concerning the same apical divinity work as a bridging element to harmonize co-occurring religious traditions, so too in a more complex if understated way do assertions concerning the link between misfortune and morality.

With this thesis I have aimed to further an anthropological study of religion, morality and Christianity in convert populations through an elaboration of Rappaport's sequential model

of sanctification, shifting its relevance from internally coherent, mono-religious environments to a multi-religious landscape where internal coherence in a society's encompassing religious framework cannot always be assumed. Strictly speaking, neither can such coherence be assumed within Christianity as a whole – a 'world religion', notwithstanding its manifold contemporary denominations and sects, that has been established over the course of three millennia¹¹³ and founded on selected ancient texts which arguably give way at places to ambiguity and inconsistency. This elaboration, nonetheless, as I have shown with reference to the ethnographic material under consideration here, enables a cross-religious analysis of ritual performance on multiple fronts, while allowing for a more in-depth way of addressing change and continuity through religious synthesis.

Such a multi-layered perspective is not only advantageous for the study of religious coherence in post-colonial Kalinga, Philippines, but is arguably of analytical value in approaching any similar society where, through the movement of people and ideas over time, competing doctrines have come to intersect. Its relevance would equally extend to societies where elements of long-established and newly introduced religious traditions have been or are in the process of being incorporated into an encompassing whole. I maintain that this perspective lends insight into how elements of conflated religious traditions harmonize when they do, and suggests where disjuncture may lie when they do not. As such I consider it to have significant potential in extending existing understandings concerning concurrent and continuing mutual influences of trans-local and indigenous religious traditions, bringing us to a better understanding of how people ordinarily interact with their natural and supernatural environments with respect to complexly intersecting cosmologies.

¹¹³ Diarmaid MacCulloch says of the subtitle of his book *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* that it "points to the fact that what became Christian ideas have a human past in the minds of people who lived before the time of Jesus Christ," (2009: 2).

Fieldsite photographs



Tarlao looking west, the house I occupied is bottom left



Tarlao looking east



People beginning to arrive at the Sawate church for Sunday mass



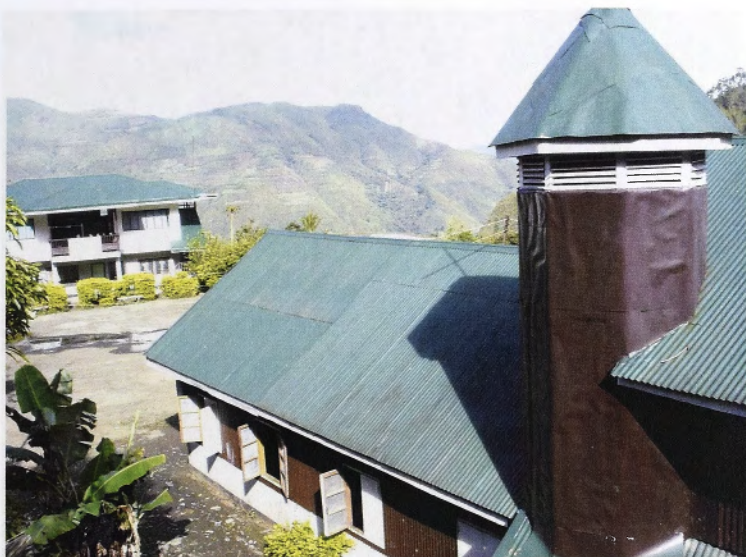
Woman receiving medicine at Agnes's Sunday mass



Agnes reading from the blue book from which names are called for healing



Perfecto reading a chosen passage from the Bible



Anglican church with bell tower, multi-purpose building in background



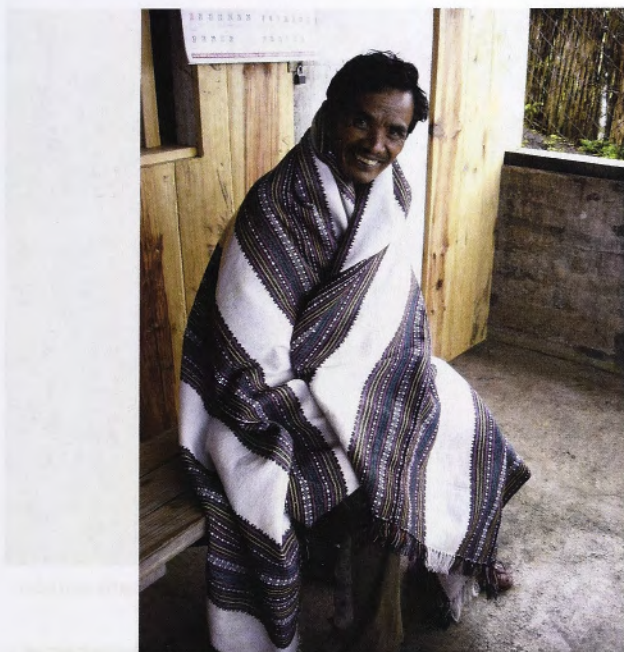
Sunday mass at the Anglican church



Fr. Andrew baptizing an infant at Sunday mass



Sunday Catholic church service



Peter demonstrating with a *binaliwon*



A *sirang bituwan* blanket airing on an outside clothes line



People gathering outside the bereaved family's house as a funeral begins



Women mourners gather inside the house, spare *binaliwon* blankets on top of casket, spouse remains hidden behind suspended *binaliwon* at back of room



Relatives attending to the deceased in the bereaved family's home



Binaliwon suspended above coffin and rice bundles for *achogwa*



Pine wood coffin being built at a local funeral



A factory produced casket with *binaliwon* folded and placed inside



Rice pounding and singing performed at celebratory funerals



Bitbitnag competition played at celebratory funerals



Mario and I holding our share of *carabao* meat from a funeral



Speech-making at a *bodong* tribunal



Remains of the *karu*, feathers and pig's tail tip



Remains of the *karu*, rooster's head with beak open, and pig's ear



Chicken claws and feathers hung above a door to protect a house from spirits entering



Eating with the spirits after a *mampisat* ritual



Kalinga dancing at *bodong* celebration with woman in traditional *ginamat* skirt



Gong players pose wearing traditional Kalinga *wa'er*

References cited

- Aguilar, Filomeno V. 1998. *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island*. Quezon City, Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Ahern, Emily M. "The Problem of Efficacy: Strong and Weak Illocutionary Acts." *Man*, New Series, Vol. 14 (1) pp. 1-17. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barker, John. 2007. "All sides Now: The Postcolonial Triangle in Uiaiku." In *The Anthropology of Morality in Melanesia and Beyond*. Ed. John Barker. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate
- Barton, Roy Franklin. 1930. *The Half-Way Sun: Life Among the Headhunters of the Philippines*. New York: Brewer & Warren inc.
1949. *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1963. *Autobiographies of Three Pagans in the Philippines*. New Hyde Park, New York: University Books.
- 1969 [1919]. *Ifugao Law*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. 1934. *Jesus and the Word*. Translated by L. P. Smith and E. H. Lantero. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Butler, Judith. 1997. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.
- Cannell, Fenella. 1999. *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
2006. "Reading as Gift and Writing as Theft." In *The Anthropology of Christianity*, ed. Fenella Cannell, pp. 134-62. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Casal, Fr. Gabriel, et al. 1981. *The People and Art of the Philippines*. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Cole, Fay-Cooper. 1922. *The Tinguian: Social, Religious, and Economic life of a Philippine Tribe*. Publication 209. Vol. XIV, No. 2. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Connor, Linda, Patsy Asch, and Timothy Asch. 1996. *Jero Tapakan: Balinese Healer: an ethnographic film monograph*. Revised ed. Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press.
- De Raedt, Jules. 1989. *Kalinga Sacrifice*. Cordillera Monograph 04. Baguio City, Philippines: Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines College Baguio.
1993. *Buaya Society*. Cordillera Monograph 05. Baguio City, Philippines: Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines College, Baguio.

1996. "Buaya Headhunting and its Rituals" In *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia*. Ed Janet Hoskins. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Dozier, Edward P. 1966. *Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People*. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1953. *Sociology and Philosophy*. Trans. D. F. Peacock. London: Cohen & West.
- Faubion, James D. 2001. "Toward an Anthropology of Ethics: Foucault and the Pedagogies of Autopoiesis." *Representations*, Vol. 74 (1) pp. 83-104.
- Feiner, Johannes, and Lukas Vischer, eds. 1975. *The Common Catechism: A Book of Christian Faith*. New York: The Seabury Press.
- Finnegan, Ruth. 1969. "How to Do Things with Words: Performative Utterances Among the Limba or Sierra Leone." *Man*, New Series, Vol. 4 (4) pp. 537-552. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Firth, Raymond. 1961. "Moral standards and social organization." In *Elements of Social Organization*. London: Watts & Co.
- Foucault, Michel. 1985. *The Use of Pleasure. The History of Sexuality vol 2*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Random House.
- Frazer, James G. 1923. *Folklore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend, and Law*. Abridged. New York: Avenel Books.
- 1981 [1890]. *The Golden Bough*. New York: Gramercy Books.
- Gardner, D.S. 1983. "Performativity in Ritual: The Mianmin Case." *Man*, New Series, Vol. 18 (2) pp. 346-360.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1960. *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gibson, Thomas. 1986. *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands: Religion and Society among the Buid of Mindoro*. London: The Athlone Press
- Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goda, Toh. 1999. "The Concluding of Peace Pacts: The Politics of Discourse among the Bontoc, Northern Luzon, Philippines." In Toh Goda (ed.), *Political Culture and Ethnicity: An Anthropological Study in Southeast Asia*: 23-44. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day.
- Graham, Jesse and Jonathan Haidt. 2010. "Beyond Beliefs: Religions Bind Individuals into Moral Communities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 14 (1), pp. 140-150.
- Hubert, Henri, and Marcel Mauss. 1964 [1898]. *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*. Trans. W. D. Hall. London: Cohen & West.
- Keyes, Charles F. 1991. "Christianity as an Indigenous Religion in Southeast Asia: A report on a conference held in Cebu, The Philippines, 1-5 September 1986." *Social Compass*,

- Kohlberg, Lawrence. 1969. "Stage and sequence: The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization." In D.A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 347-480). Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Kron-Steinhardt, Christiane. 2006. "Beaten Bark-cloth of the Philippines." In Michael C. Howard (ed.), *Bark-cloth in Southeast Asia*:115-136. Studies in the Material Cultures of Southeast Asia No.10. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Laidlaw, James. 2002. "For an Anthropology of Ethics and Freedom." In *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 8 (2) pp 311-332.
- Lambek, Michael. 1992. "Taboo as Cultural Practice among Malagasy Speakers." *Man*, New Series, Vol. 27 (2) pp. 245-266.
2000. "The Anthropology of Religion and the Quarrel between Poetry and Philosophy." *Current Anthropology*, Vol 41 (3) pp 309-20.
2010. "Introduction." *Ordinary Ethics: Anthropology, Language, and Action*. Edited by Michael Lambek. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Leach, E.R. 1964 [1954]. *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A study of Kachin social structure*. London: London School of Economics & Political Science.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. 2009. *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*. London: Penguin Books.
- Magos, Alicia P. 1992. *The Enduring Ma-Aram Tradition: An Ethnography of a Kinaraya Village in Antique*. Quezon City, Manila: New Day Publishers.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1954 [1950]. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translated by Ian Cunnison. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Meyer, Birgit. 1994. "Beyond syncretism: translation and diabolization in the appropriation of Protestantism in Africa." In Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, eds. *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, pp. 45-68.
- Milgram, B. Lynne. 1999. "Locating 'Tradition' in the Striped Textiles of Banaue, Ifugao". *Museum Anthropology* 23 (1), 1999: 3-20.
- Mitchell, Lisa M., and Marjorie Mitchell. 2001. "Enchanted Worlds: Visayan Children's Perspectives on Living among *Engkanto*." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 12, No. 2, April 2011, pp. 113-128.
- Mosko, Mark. 2001. "Syncretic persons: agency and personhood in recent charismatic ritual practices among North Mekeo (PNG)." In *Beyond syncretism* (eds) J. Gordon & F. Magowan. *The Anthropological Journal of Australia* (special issue) Vol. 12 pp. 259-76.
- Parish, Steven M. 1994. *Moral Knowing in a Hindu Sacred City: An Exploration of Mind, Emotion, and Self*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Parkin, David. 1985. "Introduction." In *The Anthropology of Evil*, edited by David Parkin. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Pastor-Roces, Marian. 1991. *Sinaunang Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave*. The Nikki Coseteng Filipiniana Series. Manila: Nikki Coseteng.
- Pertierra, Raul. 1988. *Religion, Politics, and Rationality in a Philippine Community*. Quezon City, Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Picpican, Isikias T. 2008. "Some Popular Rituals and Festivities in the Cordilleras." In Dominador D. Buhain (ed.), *Various Religious Beliefs and Practices in the Philippines Vol I*: 115-128. Quezon City, Philippines: RBSI International.
- Piluden-Omengan, Dinah. 2004. *Death and Beyond: Death & burial rituals & other practices and beliefs of the Igorots of Sagada, Moutain Province, Philippines*. Quezon City, Manila: Giraffe Books.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1952. *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London: Cohen & West.
- Rafael, Vicente. 1988. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Rappaport, Roy A. 1999. *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1979. *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.
- Ratzinger, Joseph Cardinal, *imprimi potest*. 1994. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Libreria Editrice Vaticana. New York: William H. Sadlier, Inc.
- Reader, Ian, and Tanabe, George, J Jr. 1998. *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religion of Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Robbins, Joel. 2004. *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and Moral Torment in a Papua New Guinea Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2007. "Between Reproduction and Freedom: Morality, Value, and Radical Cultural Change." In *Ethnos*, Vol. 72 (3), pp. 293-314.
- Rosaldo, Michelle. 1975. "It's All Uphill: The Creative Metaphores of Ilongot Magical Spells." *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*. Ed. Mary Sanches and Ben G. Blount. New York: Academic Press.
1982. "The things we do with words: Ilongot speech acts and speech act theory in philosophy." *Language in Society*, Vol 11 (2) pp. 203-237.
- Rosaldo, Renato. 1980. *Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Rumsey, Alan. 2006. "The Articulation of Indigenous and Exogenous Orders in Highland New Guinea and Beyond." In *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 2006, 17(1), pp. 47-69.
- Salvador-Amores, Analyn Ikin V. 2002. "Batek: Traditional Tattoos and Identities in Contemporary Kalinga, North Luzon Philippines." *Humanities Diliman* (January-June 2002) Vol 3(1), pp105-142.

- Schieffelin, Edward. 2007. "Introduction" in *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Husken (ed). Leiden: Brill.
- Scott, William Henry. 1969. *On the Cordillera: A look at the peoples and cultures of the Mountain Province*. Manila: MCS Enterprises, Inc.
1974. *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*. Revised Edition. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers.
1975. *History on the Cordillera: Collected writings on Mountain Province History*. Baguio City, Philippines: Baguio Printing & Publishing Co., Inc.
- Searle, J. 1969. *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shaw, Rosalind, and Charles Stewart. 1994. "Introduction: problematizing syncretism." In Stewart, Charles and Rosalind Shaw eds. *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London: Routledge.
- Shedden, Rikardo. 2008. "Of Kalinga rice rituals and the conflation of traditions." In *Culture and Development in Southeast Asia*. Ed. David Wangsgard. Pp109-123. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
2009. "Textiles that wrap the dead: Some ritual and secular uses of the *binaliwon* blanket of upland Kalinga, northern Luzon." In *The Cordillera Review*, Journal of Philippine Culture and Society. Vol. 1, No. 2, pp 3-24. Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Baguio.
2012. "Kalinga binaliwon Blankets, Northern Luzon, Philippines." In *Textile Traditions in Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Ed. Michael C. Howard. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Sugguiyao, Miguel. 1990. *The Kalinga Hilltribe of the Philippines*. Quezon City, Manila: Office for Northern Cultural Communities.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. 1985. *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
1985. "A Performative Approach to Ritual." *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, Philip. 2007. *Cham Muslims of the Mekong Delta: Place and Mobility in the Cosmopolitan Periphery*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Valeri, Valerio. 1985. *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*. Trans. Paula Wissing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- de Villa, Jill Gale. Ed. 1999. *E Masferré: A tribute to the Philippine Cordillera*. Manila: Brier Projects Inc.
- Werbner, Richard. 1994. "Afterword." In Stewart, Charles and Rosalind Shaw eds. *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London: Routledge.

Zigon, Jarrett. 2007. "Moral breakdown and the ethical demand: A theoretical framework for an anthropology of moralities." *Anthropological Theory*, Vol. 7 (2) pp. 131-50.